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## THE CHURCH AND NATIONALISM—A PLEA FOR FURTHER STUDY OF A MAJOR ISSUE *

TOTALITARIAN nationalism is a revolutionary and relatively modern phenomenon. Its first great eruption occurs in the French Revolution; and during the Napoleonic Era consuming streams of its hot lava flow out in all directions. Now a little more than a century later, it threatens finally, through its most active and violent craters, the Axis Powers of Germany, Italy, and Japan, to engulf the whole world in a " new order " which is but an euphemism for the direst disorder and devastation. This modern revolutionary nationalism is clearly antithetical to the Christian religion and to the constant teaching of the Catholic Church. Indeed, the present Pope pronounces it " the first " of " pernicious errors " of our time: " the forgetfulness of that law of human solidarity and charity which is dictated and imposed by our common origin and by the equality of rational nature in all men, to whatever nationality they belong . . ." [1] And Pope Pius XII goes on to reaffirm the unbroken tradition, " that the teaching and work of the Church can never be other than that which the Apostle of the Gentiles preached . . . ' there is neither Gentile nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all.' "

* Paper read at the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 30, 1941, Chicago.

[1] Encyclical, *Summa Pontificatus*, October 20, 1939.



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I have said that nationalism, as we observe it now, is revolutionary and relatively modern. But this is not to say that certain of its elements, and a good deal of its spirit, are not very old, or that the Church has not been repeatedly plagued during its long history by spasmodic surges of national sentiment and patriotic egotism, which in combination have represented at least an embryonic or nascent nationalism.

There is, in fact, a great need of painstaking re-examination of the whole vast field of church history with a view to discovering the role played in it by nationalist forces. We have many strictly ecclesiastical histories and many specialized histories of dogma, of heresy, of liturgy, or of missions. We have innumerable secular histories of the Christian Roman Empire, of the Christian Middle Ages, and of the several peoples and institutions and cultures which at one time or another have been included or have developed within Christendom. But nationalism, being so pre-eminently a modern phenomenon, has been left largely for historians of recent times to explore and explain; and their tendency, quite naturally, is to neglect the distant past or to read into it their own current preconceptions.

Obviously we cannot have the broad interpretative history we need until a considerable number of monographs shall have been produced on a variety of detailed topics by competent scholars at once interested in church history and informed about nationalism in all its aspects, psychological, cultural, and political. It is to the stimulation of such an interest, to the acquisition of such information, and consequently to the production of such monographs that I would respectfully invite American historians, especially American Catholic historians. Contemporary Europe is too charged with nationalist passions (and the Europe of the near future will most likely be even more so) to allow of the necessary dispassionate research and writing. The opportunity is patently America's.

I am sure that if and when the opportunity is properly seized, the results will be amply rewarding. They will throw into long perspective the most crucial and fateful development of our own times, and by evoking a reinterpretation of the history of the Church they will

expedite the application of its twenty centuries of experience to the healing of the terrible wounds which intolerant bellicose nationalism is now inflicting upon the world.

Let me suggest a few of the many questions which have occurred to me as meriting special consideration on the part of historical scholars. The first, and a very fundamental one, is the question of how and why nationalism, as we know it, should have originated and grown to its present immoderate maturity in that European continent which has been the continuous and chief seat of the Catholic Church with its perpetual preaching of the brotherhood of man under the common Fatherhood of God. I can imagine, and I assume that detailed research would demonstrate, that the early and fairly rapid spread of a universal religion like Christianity was immensely aided by its taking place in the cosmopolitan atmosphere and non-national reaches of the Roman Empire. In a certain sense there would seem to be justification for the oft-repeated allegation that papal Rome has been the heir of imperial Rome, with the emphasis on "imperial"—that is, "non-national"—quite as much as on "Rome."

But precisely what concessions did this imperial papal Rome—this universal and catholic church—make to the various Germanic and Slavic and other peoples as these settled and founded quasi-tribal or quasi-national states within the former confines of the Roman Empire? And what similar concessions were made to the peoples of central and northern Europe, remote from the Roman Empire, as one after another they were converted to Christianity and brought within the orbit of the Catholic Church? Were such concessions conscious or unconscious? Were they freely made or were they more or less extorted? Did not the Church practically recognize the principle of nationality and actually foster the development of national consciousness?

In seeking answers to these questions, one would have to re-examine the several missionary enterprises and achievements of the centuries from the fifth to the eleventh, together with the governing instructions from Rome. One could be expected to find, among other things, that in many instances the creation of a national hier-

archy, under a national primate, for example of France, Spain, England, Ireland, or Germany, preceded and gave impetus to the creation of a national state under a national king, and that the foundations of a kind of cultural nationalism were laid in the reduction of merely spoken dialects to written languages and the resulting rise of national literatures, beginning with translations of the Bible and church service-books from Greek or Latin into the vernacular and the composition in the latter of homilies, stories of the saints, miracle plays, etc. One should certainly reassess the ecclesiastical contribution to national literature for Germans, English, Czechs, Poles, Yugoslavs, Magyars, and Russians. It is not without significance that the earliest examples of national histories were such ecclesiastical national histories as Gregory of Tours' and the Venerable Bede's.

Another important question—or series of questions—concerns the part which linguistic and cultural differences and attendant national egocentricity have played in prompting and effecting schisms within the Church and revolts against its doctrines and discipline. I recognize, of course, the stellar role, in all such movements, of the individual schismatic or heresiarch, motivated by personal ambition or pique, by pride of intellect, by misplaced zeal, or by sheer pigheadedness. But it seems to me that insufficient attention has been paid to the sentiment of national solidarity and the real or fancied sense of national grievance which have often been utilized to secure popular support for an individual's revolt. A mere history of doctrinal aspects of schism and heresy will hardly make clear why, for example, the Monophysite heresy of the fifth century found embodiment in schismatic national churches for Egyptians, Armenians, and Syrians.

Likewise, the great schism of the eleventh century between the eastern and western parts of Christendom, though occasioned by an ambitious and unscrupulous Patriarch of Constantinople, though backed by a Byzantine despot, and though complicated by differing religious usages of long standing, was consummated and rendered bitter and enduring by the circumstances that it was a schism between Greek and Latin Christians, and that the former were

possessed of a fanatical devotion not only to Greek leaders in Church and State but to the Greek nationality. Moreover, do not nationalist or semi-nationalist considerations help chiefly to explain the comparative ease and speed with which peoples of western Asia and northern Africa fell away from Christianity and embraced the religion of Mohammed? I suspect that in most histories of this tragedy the ferocity and bloody swords of Arab conquerors have been overemphasized and the unchristian quarrels of so-called Christian peoples glossed over.

When one turns to medieval heresy, one will find, I believe, that wherever it is most flourishing and most menacing to the unity of the Church it is closely associated with some popular national cause. I appreciate recent attempts to connect medieval heresy with groups or classes having economic grievances against the established order of society. But however illuminating these attempts may be, I hazard the guess that an inquest into national factors will prove more illuminating. The strength of the Albigensian heresy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must have owed something to its patronage by the Count of Toulouse and to its acceptance by a large fraction of the Provençal nationality, just as the eventual suppression of the heresy was achieved in the main as a crusade of French against Provençal. The Hussite heresy of the early fifteenth century was even more obviously associated with nascent Czech nationalism and with armed conflict between Czechs and Germans.

Indeed, a peculiarly critical period for study of nascent nationalism in relationship to the Church is the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It begins with Philip the Fair's famous evocation of French national spirit in order to obtain popular backing for his contest with Pope Boniface VIII. It continues through the seventy years of French popes residing at Avignon and on through the almost forty years more of rival claimants to the papacy. It witnesses not only the Hussite wars between Czechs and Germans, but the Hundred Years' War between kings of France and England, the exploits and martyrdom of Jeanne d'Arc, the victorious struggle of Poles against Germans, the emergence of a set of really national monarchies, including England, France, Scotland, Portugal, and Spain,

whose inhabitants evince an increasingly national consciousness and even pride, and the uneasy stirrings of like consciousness among other peoples, notably in Germany and Italy, where imperial rather than national ideas survive, though in diminishing potency.

At the beginning of this critical period, there remains some prospect of achieving the goal of Innocent III's efforts a century previous, the peaceful transformation of Christendom from its pristine cosmopolitanism and subsequent localism and feudalism into a new and true internationalism, with self-conscious Christian nations as its component parts, and with all cemented together, under papal auspices, in a Christian league of nations. That prospect and its near-fulfillment under Innocent III and his immediate successors deserve intensive study. For could the efforts of those pontiffs of the thirteenth century have been crowned with success, internationalism might have become a substantial thing in itself, preserving what was best in the universalism of ancient Rome and at the same time serving as a check upon the development of any such exclusive nationalism as we are familiar with in the twentieth century.

Alas, the efforts of those pontiffs were not crowned with lasting success! The prospect which they opened up, and which still appeared bright at the beginning of the fourteenth century, dimmed and darkened, as I have just indicated, in the rush of nationalist events during the next two centuries. The fault must be ascribed to nationalistically minded cardinals, bishops, and other clergymen, as well as to ambitious statesmen, aggressive warriors, and the laity in general. This is apparent in the church councils of the period.

A new procedure then developed within the councils, that of meeting and voting not by " individuals " but by " nations." It seems to have originated informally at the Council of Lyons in 1274, when Gregory X, in order to drive through, against the resistance of his cardinals, some measures of reform relating to the conduct of papal elections, met the bishops and abbots of the council " by nations " between sessions of the *plenum* and got their written consent to his proposals.[2] Then, at the Council of Vienne, in 1311-1312, when

[2] G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXIV, 66.

the business of the Knights Templars was pending, Clement V called for the final votes of the prelates present in order of their "nations," Italians first, then Spaniards, Germans, Danes, English, Scotch, Irish, and French.[3]

This national procedure was refined, a century later, in the Council of Pisa of 1409, which, though not regarded as ecumenical by either of the rival popes of the time, was attended by representative clergy from all Catholic countries except Spain. At Pisa the members of the Council were formally divided into four "nations"—Italian, French, German, and English. Each "nation" sat separately, came to its own decision on the questions at issue, and voted as a unit when it met the other "nations" in sessions of the council as a whole. These "nations" were definitely representative bodies, basing their claim to a voice, not on the number or status of the members present at Pisa, but on the power and prestige of the land whence they came.[4]

At the Council of Constance, five years later, much the same procedure was followed. The same four "nations" (and subsequently the Spanish as a fifth) "were formally organized, each with its president, deputies, and notaries, its seal and bank of seats in the cathedral, and its private hall of meeting where it assembled regularly three mornings a week to discuss and vote on each question as it arose. The votes of the nations having been harmonized by the efforts of a central steering committee, composed of representatives from each nation, the council gathered in stately session in the cathedral and publicly ratified the conclusions already reached by the nations in their several meetings." [5]

This organization of the church councils of the early fifteenth century "by nations" was not necessarily a misfortune, and if one knew nothing more about them, one might conclude that here at last was the Christian league of nations actually in existence and at

[3] Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne* (Münster, 1934), pp. 99, 108, 113-114.

[4] Mansi, XXVI, 1219; XXVII, 7-8, 266.

[5] Louise R. Loomis, "Nationality at the Council of Constance," *American Historical Review*, XLIV (April, 1939), 512-513. To this admirable study the writer is indebted for material in this and the two preceding paragraphs.

work. As one studies the record in detail, however, one will find plentiful evidence for the thesis that the fathers at Constance were more consciously nationalist than internationalist and that they indulged in most unedifying and quite unchristian recriminations along national lines. The Spaniards, coming late, demanded the fourth place among the nations for themselves and the putting of the English into fifth place; and the French, already quarreling with the English, backed the Spaniards, while the Germans supported the English. Between French and English the row reached scandalous proportions, and on occasion every "nation" at Constance voiced the touchy conceit and the unscrupulous assertiveness that were symptomatic of the new nationalism. The English, being the least numerous, posed as champions of the right of each nation to be counted as the equal of every other. Yet to "appease" the Germans they joined with them in ignoring the rights of Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, and Scandinavians to separate identity and a separate vote. Nascent nationalism of the fifteenth century, as illustrated at Constance, could be as imperialistically minded as the full grown variety of our time.

We have recently been favored with several monographs on nationalist aspects of the Council of Constance. We need similar monographs on the Councils of Pisa, Basel, and Ferrara-Florence. In fact, we should have a major treatment of the whole conciliar movement of the fifteenth century. That movement, as I see it, while failing in its prime endeavor to change the monarchical constitution of the Church, was highly successful in arousing and spreading a nationalistic pride and "touchiness" at variance with Christian tradition and eventually destructive of Catholic unity.

No historian doubts, I suppose, that nationalism entered into the Protestant revolts of the sixteenth century. I suspect, however, that it entered into them far deeper than most historians have perceived, that it was really the decisive factor, and that as such it merits much more thorough investigation than has hitherto been made. I strongly suspect, moreover, that the popular response to the bellicose nationalist incitements of Luther and Henry VIII and William of Orange and the Scandinavian monarchs was too widespread and

vigorous to be accounted for as a sudden new phenomenon, a mere result of Protestant propaganda, but that, rather, the popular nationalism of the sixteenth century, which made Protestantism possible, was a direct product of the nationalism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which had been stimulated by professed Catholics and exemplified in the conciliar movement. In other words, I should like to see the conciliar movement related to the Protestant movement, with special regard to such links in the chain as the assertion of Gallicanism in the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges of 1438 and of German national and cultural superiority by a new generation of ultra-patriotic humanists including Wimpfeling, Celtes, Heinrich Bebel, and Ulrich von Hutten.[6] Once the Protestant revolt was consummated over a wide area of northern Europe, the road was open for the rapid modern advance of nationalism, not only in regions where national churches were established, but also in those remaining parts of Europe where the Catholic Church survived, albeit on the defensive.

The modern history of the relationship between Church and nationalism is a gigantic subject in itself. I do not here propose to discuss it except in two or three particulars. One of these has been the rise, under nationalist influence, of a new sort of Catholic apologetic. The father of it was the romantic Chateaubriand, whose leading argument as set forth in his famous *Génie du Christianisme* (1802) may be summarized in this way: The works and beauties of Christianity indicate its perfection; a perfect consequence cannot spring from an imperfect cause; therefore, Christianity is not the creation of men, but of God. Good Catholics, even at the time of the first appearance of the book, felt the weakness of its subjective defense of their faith. They should have been even more critical of its emotional exalting of national patriotism, for Chateaubriand ends by giving a divine sanction to nationalism rather than establishing the reality of the Deity. "The most appropriate instinct in man," he says, "the most beautiful, the most moral, *c'est l'amour de*

[6] Suggestive data on this latter point are provided by J. Tietz, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung des deutschen Nationalbewusstseins* (Hanover, 1880).

*la patrie*." The Church is to be cherished because it is a better teacher of nationalism than any rationalist or any Jacobin.

There is need of tracing the continuous influence of this sort of apologetic down through the nineteenth century to our own time and showing how it has eventuated in the extraordinary arguments of such atheistic or agnostic ultra-nationalists as Maurice Barrès, Charles Maurras, and Gabriele D'Annunzio, to the effect that the Catholic Church, though it enshrines myths and human fallibility, should be preserved because it represents some national tradition and can be utilized to support nationalist reaction and anti-Semitism.[7] And how many professed Catholics have latterly swallowed this bait, with line, hook, and sinker?

There might also be a profitable study of forerunners of the Hitlers and Mussolinis, of the Goebbels's and Gaydas, who, born in a more or less Catholic environment, have matured as leaders or propagandists of the most virulent and fatal nationalism, and yet, posing as Catholics or near-Catholics, have duped and misled innumerable members of the Church. Take, for example, Napoleon Bonaparte, who thus explained why he wanted a concordat with the Holy See: "My policy is to govern men as the greatest number of them wish to be governed . . . It was this policy that made a Catholic of me when I had finished the war of Vendée, made a Mussulman of me when I had established myself in Egypt, and made an Ultramontane of me when I had gained the good will of Italy. If I governed a Jewish people, I would re-establish the Temple of Solomon." [8]

Or, take the French priest, the Abbé Maury, who, for his able and outspoken defense of the Church in the early days of the French Revolution, was made an archbishop and a cardinal by the Pope, and yet who later became a major propagandist for Napoleon's despotism and imperialistic nationalism against the Pope. Or, take Napoleon's chief legal adviser, Portalis, long a practicing Catholic, who publicly defended the concordat which his dictatorial

[7] Cf. W. C. Buthman, *Rise of Integral Nationalism in France* (New York, 1939).

[8] Boulay, *Documents*, I, 77.

master negotiated with Pius VII on the curious grounds that it was useful to France " to replace false systems of philosophy with false systems of religion." [9] This same Portalis, writing to the dictator in 1806, reminded him how the feast of St. Louis used to stir up " love and devotion " for the kings of the old regime, and drew the moral that in order to guarantee the nationalism of the new regime there should be " a feast of St. Napoleon " ! He ventured to suggest that if St. Napoleon were commemorated on the same day as the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, " it might add more éclat to the sacred occasion." [10] What a neglected hint to St. Adolf or St. Benito, or, for that matter, to St. Joseph Stalin!

One other special study I would here propose. In the eighteenth century, at the height of the so-called " Enlightenment," the pietistic and proto-romantic Herder, the great modern apostle of cultural nationalism, contended that Christianity was an exotic religion, part " Semitic " and part " Roman," which had been imposed by " alien monks " upon the indigenous religions of the several European peoples, and that it was largely responsible for the loss of German character and virility and had done irreparable harm " to the tales, songs, customs, temples, and monuments of paganism among the Germans." [11] This theme of the superiority of national paganism to Catholic Christianity has been dwelt upon and progressively expanded, since Herder's time, by Arndt and Vater Jahn, by Richard Wagner, by the notorious Alfred Rosenberg. Its whole lineage, with ramifications and variations, requires historical examination and description. For contemporary nationalism, in its extreme form, is not merely a political embarrassment to the Catholic Church; it is a rival religion, a resuscitated and fanatical paganism.

[9] Portalis, *Discours, rapports et travaux inédits sur le concordat de 1801* (Paris, 1845), p. 9.

[10] *Ibid.*, 550-551. Cf. H. H. Walsh, *The Concordat of 1801, a Study of the Problems of Nationalism in the Relations of Church and State* (New York, 1933).

[11] Herder, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. by S. Suphan (Berlin, 1877-1913), I, 367 ff.; XIV, 384; XXXII, 143. Cf. R. R. Ergang, *Herder and the Foundations of German Nationalism* (New York, 1931).

Need I, in conclusion, reaffirm to you my sincere and reasoned conviction that the final great bulwark of mankind against the errors and evils of nationalism is the Catholic Church? But all of us who man that bulwark should learn salutary lessons from inspecting the scars which the buffetings of nationalism have left upon the Church through past centuries, and we should be on the alert lest we, like certain Catholics of the past, put nationalism above our faith and thus give aid and comfort to our most persistent and insidious foe. There are, as I have elsewhere pointed out,[12] a Christian patriotism and, if rightly understood, a Christian nationalism. But these are, and (if a better world is to issue from the supreme travails of the present time) these must be, associated with Christian internationalism and with the Church's constant teaching of the brotherhood of man under the Fatherhood of God. I began this paper with a quotation from Pius XII. I close it with a quotation from his predecessor: "All must remember that the peoples of the earth form but one family in God." [13]

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[12] *Patriotism, Nationalism, and the Brotherhood of Man*, pamphlet published by the Catholic Association for International Peace (Washington, 1939).

[13] Encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris*, March 19, 1937.

# SOME RECENT TRENDS AND FINDINGS IN THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AMERICA *

FEW fields of American history have of late been cultivated more assiduously and more fruitfully than that of colonial Spanish America. This will hardly be questioned by anyone who for the past decade or so has been trying to keep up with the ever-increasing flood of new materials—guides and bibliographies, collections of documents, scientific monographs, and critical magazine articles. The annual output has become so vast that one is constrained to delimit more and more the scope of one's researches and studies not only geographically but also chronologically and topically.

History being a progressive science, it is to be expected that historical investigations, scientifically pursued, will result in the discovery of new facts and in a correspondingly new interpretation of the past. Such results, in the case of Spanish American history, have been truly astonishing. This holds especially with regard to the colonial period, the one in which the present writer is particularly interested and to which he, therefore, confines himself in the present study. In this field recent investigations have uncovered a mass of facts and figures which were heretofore either unknown or unappreciated and which postulate certain changes in the matter of historical interpretation.

## *The Columbus Problem*

Several times during the past decade the age-old Columbus problem came up for discussion,[1] manifesting in one instance how peril-

* This paper was originally prepared for the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the Catholic University of America and read in April, 1940, at a meeting of the Institute.

[1] Duhr, Bernard, S.J., "Die Kolumbus-Frage," *Stimmen der Zeit*, 120 (1931), 195-207. For a translation of this excellent summary, prepared by Bernard A. Hausmann, S.J., see *Mid-America*, New Series, IV (1932), 27-44.

ously serious a group of scholars can get in a purely academic debate. In October, 1935, the Twenty-Sixth International Congress of Americanists was held in Seville, Spain. At one of its sessions the Argentine scholar, Rómulo D. Carbia of the University of Buenos Aires submitted the results of his studies concerning the discoverer of America. Despite the noisy discussion which his paper evoked, even in the daily press,[2] Carbia published a year later in Buenos Aires the full documentation for his stand on the Columbus problem.[3] This volume, like the convention paper, created a sensation. There followed an outburst of approval and applause on the one hand and an uproar of protest and vituperation on the other.

Carbia's most damaging and consequently most irritating shafts of criticism were aimed at Bartolomé de las Casas an an historian, from whose writings posterity has drawn nearly all its information on Columbus and the event of 1492. Producing evidence which he considered unimpeachable, the Argentine historian contended, among other things, that Las Casas "shifted, adulterated, and forged the Columbus documents" which he used for, and in some cases embodied in, his famous *Historia de las Indias*. Carbia undertook to show, for instance, that one of the forgeries of Las Casas is the time-honored and much-cited biography of Columbus, known to us only in its Italian version and generally attributed to Fernando, the son of the discoverer. The real author of this biography, Carbia contended, was Las Casas, who in his ill-advised zeal to glorify Columbus composed the biography at a time when Columbus had need to be glorified, his heirs having initiated legal proceedings to secure their rights, and the reputation of the discoverer being consequently at stake.

[2] For a discussion of the matter, see Emiliano Jos, "El Congreso internacional de Americanistas y la historia del descubrimiento," *Tierra Firme*, II (1936), 447 ff.; also Constantino Bayle, S.J., "El XXVI Congreso internacional Americanista," *Razón y Fe*, CIX (1936), 518 ff.

[3] Carbia, Rómulo D., *La Nueva Historia del Descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936). It would seem that previously, in 1929, Carbia had been in complete agreement with the eminent Columbus authority, Fritz Streicher, S.J., on the question of which writings attributed to Columbus are genuine. See Duhr, *loc. cit.*, 198, note 3.

This and several other attacks on the trustworthiness of Las Casas as an historian did not remain unchallenged. Distinguished scholars, whose erudition and honesty could not be questioned, entered the field against Carbia. One of these was Diego Luis Molinari, whose refutation of Carbia's findings appeared in the second volume of the *Historia de la Nación Argentina*. Carbia stuck to his guns, however, and fired back. He was sure that his position was scientifically indestructible and the motive which prompted his attack on Las Casas morally sound. His reply to Molinari, in many ways a masterpiece of polemical writing, was published privately in 1937.[4] In a summary statement, appended to this reply and entitled *Balance Final*, Carbia voiced sentiments that dominated his own mind as they unquestionably dominated also the minds of those who crossed swords with him. He wrote:

> I have the right, after the tempest, to continue believing that, although it is possible for me as a human being to be in error, I am not much mistaken in this matter concerning Columbus. God is my witness that I have at all times sought the truth and that, because I believed I had found it, I dared to announce it in the works that are circulating under my name. I am not so conceited as to think that I possess the privilege of a monopoly on truth. I believe with complete singleness of heart that others, now and later on, will eclipse my present modest work. But, since I have been honest in my researches, I must protest against the abuses inflicted by such as, believing they alone are honest, discern sinister motives in those who, like themselves, are doing research work and as, without repairing the serious harm they do, discharge arrows that lodge directly in one's good name, which, like the human heart, furnishes life to the activities of the mind.[5]

Molinari, as already indicated, was not the only scholar to challenge Carbia. As a matter of fact, his conclusions were assailed by most students of history who were qualified to speak on the Columbus problem. Thus two Italians, Roberto Almagia and Rinaldo Caddeo, took up the gauntlet; likewise two Spaniards, Manuel

[4] Carbia, Rómulo D., *La Investigación Científica y el Descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1937).

[5] Carbia, *ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

Serrano y Sanz and Emiliano Jos; also the well-known Argentinean, Enrique de Gandía; and finally, the Peruvian, Luis Ulloa. Here was an opposing force that demanded a respectful hearing, a fact which probably explains why at present the clash of arms has ceased. Presumably, Carbia is re-examining the validity of his theories and will be heard from in due time. Should he succeed in definitely establishing his findings as correct, his opponents will undoubtedly go over to his side.

At present, then, the Columbus problem embraces chiefly the four points enumerated by Carbia in his *Balance Final*. They are (1) the fraudulent testimony of Las Casas, (2) the apocryphal biography of Columbus attributed to his son Fernando, (3) the unauthenticity of the Toscanelli letter, and (4) the voyage of 1492 as not destined for the Orient.[6]

During the lull that followed the Carbia tempest, Salvador de Madariaga published his biography of Columbus.[7] It leaves the findings of Carbia entirely unnoticed even in its pretentious bibliography which lists not only the *Historia* of Las Casas but in addition nearly all the original sources which Carbia examined and found questionable, if not entirely untrustworthy. Thus Madariaga's new biography contributes nothing whatever toward a solution of the Columbus problem.

The same can not be said, however, of the scholarly study published by Professor Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard University.[8] It represents scientific investigation in the truest sense of the word. Morison undertook to perform what most biographers of Columbus have avoided, namely, to identify in part at least the places which the navigator visited and named on his first voyage to the New World. Preliminary to an actual retracing of the navigator's route

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

[7] Madariaga, Salvador de, *Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1940).

[8] Morison, Samuel Eliot, *The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (December, 1940). It should be noted that Professor Morison does not accept Carbia's findings concerning the Columbus journal of the first voyage. See his study of this journal in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 235-269.

along the north coast of Haiti, Morison made a careful study of the journal of Columbus as handed down to us by Las Casas and examined for possible clues all available ancient maps and sea charts. Thus prepared for his task, he proceeded to Haiti and there engaged the services of a properly manned coast guard cutter. In this, braving the hardships which closet historians would probably lack the hardihood to face, Morison and his companions skirted the north coast of Haiti, following the nautical directions and estimating the distances set down in the Columbus journal and comparing at the same time its geographical and topographical data with the ones he himself encountered.

The result of this thorough investigation proved most gratifying. Each of Morison's findings is a step closer to the truth. As far as Haiti is concerned, we know now what route Columbus followed along its north coast; wherefore this portion of the journal at least may now be accepted as entirely trustworthy. Moreover, the various sailings of the three vessels of the 1492 voyage are now fairly well established. Again, it is now practically certain where, on that fateful Christmas eve in 1492, the flagship of Columbus, the *Santa Maria*, was wrecked. Finally, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt as to the site on which Columbus founded Navidad, the first European settlement in the New World.

### *The Markham Translations*

All students of Spanish American history are familiar with the work of Sir Clements R. Markham.[9] If distinguished scholars like Bourne, Moses, Merriman, Means, Cleven, and the editors of the *Guide to Historical Literature* have accepted, either explicitly or implicitly, the Markham translations as reliable, one might with good reason take their reliability for granted. It was quite a surprise, therefore, when a few years ago the discovery was made, quite accidentally, that several of Markham's renditions of the early Spanish chronicles of Peru were decidedly defective and could not

[9] Sir Clements Robert Markham (1830-1916) translated and edited twenty of the early chronicles of Peru for the Hakluyt Society. For bibliographical data see Philip Ainsworth Means, *The Fall of the Inca Empire* (New York, 1932), and *Biblioteca Andina* (New Haven, 1928).

be trusted. Professor Bailey W. Diffie of the College of the City of New York, who published what he found,[10] summarizes his discovery regarding the Cieza Chronicle in the following terms:

> The case against the Markham translation may be based on three counts: (1) generally incorrect rendition of the Spanish text into English; (2) acknowledged omissions; (3) mistranslations of important passages and unacknowledged omissions. Were there only a few such errors affecting the sense of the work but little, they could be considered as a translator's choice of words; but there are a minimum of two hundred such omissions and mistranslations, and more if minor errors are counted, many of which change entirely the meaning of the original.[11]

His curiosity being aroused, Professor Diffie continued to examine other Markham translations in collaboration with Dr. Harry Bernstein, one of his colleagues. The result of their studies was the publication of a second article,[12] dealing with Markham's translation of three additional chroniclers of Peru, viz., Francisco de Xerez, Garcilaso de la Vega, and Pedro de Sarmiento de Gamboa.

From the list of defective renditions, as published by Diffie and Bernstein, the following are particularly noteworthy:

1. Cieza de León writes that *mucha parte* of the people perished. Markham translated " the greater part of the people perished." [13]

2. Cieza de León says *oí decir que Paulo Inga* . . . This is rendered by Markham " I heard it said by Paullo Inca . . ." [14]

3. Cieza de León explains the reason for an Indian uprising by saying that the Indians *creyendo que, siendo tan pocos cristianos los que con el venian, facilmente y con poco trabajo los matarian.* Markham changes the meaning of this passage entirely, making it appear that the Indians rebelled because they considered the

[10] Diffie, Bailey W., "A Markham Contribution to the Leyenda Negra," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (1936), 96-103.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[12] Bernstein, Harry, and Diffie, Bailey W., " Sir Clements R. Markham as a Translator," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVII (1937), 546-557.

[13] Diffie, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Spaniards " such bad christians," [15] as if the Indians were interested, not in the numerical weakness, but in the moral character, of the Spaniards.

4. Cieza de León writes: *Cuando entramos en este valle de Aburra, fue tanto el aborrecimiento que nos tomaron los naturales dél, que ellos y sus mujeres se ahorcaban de sus cabellos.* This text Markham translates as follows: " When we entered this valley of Aburra, the detestation we conceived for the natives was such that we hung them and their women to the boughs of trees by their hair." A correct translation would read: " When we entered this valley of Aburra, the detestation which the natives of it [the valley] had for us was so great that they and their women hung themselves by their hair." [16] Concerning Markham's translation Diffie remarks very aptly:

> It is no compliment to the Spaniards that the Indians sought to escape from them by hanging themselves, but to accuse the Spaniards of hanging the Indians simply because of a caprice seems too great a willingness to believe the worst of the Spanish soldiers.[17]

With such translations of the early chronicles going the rounds for years, it is no wonder that the Spanish conquerors, even on the testimony of their own writers, have been regarded as monsters of cruelty and oppression.

5. Speaking of the *ofrendas* (offerings) which the Indians made to the great emerald of Manta, Cieza de León says: . . . *las cuales después el cacique y otros ministros del demonio aplicaban a sí.* Here again Markham conveys at best an erroneous meaning when he writes that " they [the caciques] and other ministers of the devil had applied to it." [18] The sense of the original is perfectly clear, namely, " afterwards the cacique and other ministers of the devil applied them [the *ofrendas*] to themselves," i. e. carried them off for their own use.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 98.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

6. Francisco Xerez reports that Hernando de Soto wrote to Pizarro, *haciendole saber lo que les habia sucedido.* This obviously does not mean, as Markham translates, that De Soto provided Pizarro " with news that he [De Soto] had succeeded." [19] It merely says that De Soto informed Pizarro " of what had happened to them ", i. e. to De Soto and his companions.

7. Equally misleading is another Markham translation of a passage in the Xerez report. It says of the Indians: *Dijeron que querian ser sus vasallos y por tales los recibió el governador con la solemnidad que se requiere.* Markham's translation reads: " They replied that they desired to be his vassals, and that they would receive the governor with the solemnity that might be required." Thus rendered, the passage ascribes the whole measure of goodwill to the Indians, whereas the Spanish text speaks distinctly of a bilateral treaty; the Indians wish to be vassals of Spain and the governor receives their submission with the prescribed ceremonies.[20] In other words, the Spaniards regarded these Indians as their political equals and negotiated with them for peace and harmony. How fatal to the *leyenda negra* this correct rendition and interpretation of the original text!

8. Garcilaso de la Vega writes that *esto se usaba entre los ricos, que los pobres, que era la gente comun, en toda cosa tenía escazesa, pero no necesidad.* Markham's translation reads: " This was the custom of the rich, for the poor had only sufficient of all things, though no scarcity." Besides suppressing the important fact that, as the original says, the common people among the Inca Indians were poor, the translation fails to convey the statement of the original that among the poor there was scarcity in all things, although they did not suffer real want.[21]

9. Humorous rather than harmful is this item. Garcilaso de la Vega writes: *En la segunda visita sucedió que andando en la provincia de los Chichas, que es lo ultimo del Peru hacia el Mediodia . . .* Markham translates this as follows: " During his second visit, while

[19] Bernstein-Diffie, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 548.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 553.

he was traveling in the province of the Chichas, which is the last in Peru, at about noon . . ." The phrase *hacia el Mediodia* does not mean " at about noon " but " toward the south." [22] The province of Chichas, in other words, was the southernmost in Peru.

10. Finally, this choice bit. The Spanish chronicler writes: *Y el indio que podia haber un grano de aquel maiz . . . para echarlo en sus orones.* Markham thought this meant: " The Indian who could obtain a grain of that maize . . . to place in his ears." [23] Unfortunately, *orones* does not mean ears but baskets.

About the same time that Diffie and Bernstein were examining Markham's translations of the Peruvian chronicles, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison was investigating along similar lines.[24] This time, however, it was Markham's translation of the journal of Columbus's first voyage to the New World. After comparing the translation with the best original text of the journal, Morison declared that the translation

> is characterized throughout by gross carelessness and inaccuracy, even in maritime details; frequently mistranslating compass points, reversing the meaning of statements, and omitting whole clauses without any warning; whilst his annotations, mostly lifted (not without credit) from Navarette, are sparse and often misleading.[25]

Considering the extensive use that has and is still being made of the Markham translations, the findings of these scholars are of the greatest importance. One can not but agree with Diffie " that the student who uses Markham is likely to fall into error at any minute and that any study done with Markham's translations as the base will have to be revised." [26]

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 553.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 553.

[24] Morison, Samuel Eliot, " Texts and Translations of the Journal of Columbus's First Voyage," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX (1939), 235-261.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 252.

[26] Bernstein-Diffie, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

*The De Soto Expedition*

Hernando de Soto has long played a leading role in the *leyenda negra*. His name has become a synonym for infamy and dishonor and the expedition he led across our southern borderlands four centuries ago some of our best historians have pictured as a weird story of pillage, oppression, brutality, bloodshed, and murder. Originally, the responsibility for this rests on Bartolomé de las Casas. Admitting[27] in 1542 that "there is no news of him [De Soto] these three years, nor does he put in his appearance," Las Casas is "certain that immediately on entering [Florida] he committed cruelties and presently disappeared." De Soto may still be alive, he writes, though "we believe that God has given him the end which he gave to others." Eventually, in Mexico, Las Casas met some of those who had been with De Soto and the army. From these he learned about "the unheard-of cruelties and crimes perpetrated there," chiefly during the lifetime of De Soto, "on the innocent and unoffending" Indians, "so that what I had previously guessed does not turn out to be false." One is inclined to wonder how much of the information these survivors gave Las Casas was what they pre-

[27] The report of Las Casas was later published as the first of nine tracts dealing with the Indian question. Its title, which was applied to the entire series of tracts, was *Brevísima relación de la destruyción de las Indias*. The report was submitted to the Spanish government in 1542, the year in which Las Casas finished the first draft of it. It was later amplified by Las Casas and published with the other tracts in 1552. For the present study the writer used the edition prepared for propaganda purposes by the Mexican, Servando Teresa de Mier, and published in Philadelphia in 1821. This edition, previously printed in Seville and in London and containing a lengthy introduction by Mier, bears the title *Breve Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias Occidentales*. Of the numerous translations and versions of the *Brevísima Relación*, the following may be noted: Dutch translations, 1578, 1579, 1596, 1607, 1609, 1610, 1612 (two), 1620 (two), 1621, 1627, 1634, 1638, 1663, 1664, etc.; French translations, 1579, 1582, 1630, 1635, 1642, 1692, etc.; English translations, 1583, 1656, 1689, 1699; German translations, 1597, 1599, 1613, 1664, 1665, 1790; Italian translations, 1626, 1630, 1635, 1636, 1643, 1645, 1657; Latin translation, 1598, which contains the repulsive De Bry engravings. Naturally, J. A. Llorente included the *Brevísima Relación* in his *Oeuvres de las Casas* (Paris, 1822), I, 1-116. How often it was printed in biographies of Las Casas or in works dealing with him is hard to say. As late as 1909 Francis A. MacNutt appended it to his biography of Las Casas (pp. 311-424).

sumed he wanted to hear. Anyway, he now had enough dependable witnesses to satisfy himself that in Florida under "the fourth tyrant" there "have been committed the greatest and most shameful crimes against these hapless people by the sons of perdition. And so," Las Casas concludes, almost triumphantly, "the most unlucky captain died in defeat and without confession; nor do we doubt that he was buried in hell, unless perhaps God secretly provided for him according to His divine mercy, but not according to what he [De Soto] merited by reason of such detestable crimes."

Responsibility for the blackness of the De Soto legend rests even more heavily on a man whose identity is still an unsolved problem. This is the chronicler, known as the Gentleman of Elvas, who accompanied the De Soto expedition and wrote the narrative of it.[28] It was composed in Portuguese, not in Spanish, and it was first published in 1557 at Evora, in Portugal—circumstances that must be taken into account when estimating the reliability of the narrative. Embellished as it was with tales of Spanish cruelty towards the Indians, the narrative became a "best seller" immediately and it remained ever after one of the chief sources of information on De Soto's expedition to Florida.

Responsible in the third place for the De Soto legend of cruelty are those writers of the past who used the Elvas narrative in a way that militates against sound scholarship. One need only read the narrative carefully to see how it has been abused at the cost of historical truth. Since it is still widely used and generally recommended without reserve, the present writer feels that his own findings[29] should be embodied in this study. There are in the Elvas

[28] *The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto by the Gentleman of Elvas*, prepared for publication by Theodore H. Lewis, is in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States—Original Narratives of Early American History* (New York, 1907). This edition is cited in the present study. In 1932 the Florida State Historical Society published a new translation with facsimile reproduction of the original Portuguese edition of 1557. This translation with elaborate annotations was prepared by the late James Alexander Robertson.

[29] Recorded by him in an article entitled "Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition" and published in *Mid-America*, New Series, IV (1932), 3-26.

narrative a number of incidents that, if duly considered, place the De Soto expedition in a more favorable light. For some reason or another these incidents have in nearly every case been completely suppressed by writers who cite the Elvas narrative as one of their sources and who must consequently answer for the current misconception of De Soto and his career in Florida. Following is a list of such suppressed incidents:

1. De Soto was kind and grateful to the Indian chief who aided in the rescue of Juan Ortíz.[30]

2. De Soto took severe measures against two of his soldiers for stealing "some skins and shawls from the Indians," contrary to the strict regulations he had laid down for the protection of the natives.[31]

3. Friendship between Spaniards and Indians at Cufitachiqui, initiated and fostered by De Soto, was disturbed by the imprudence of a Spanish scouting party.[32]

4. De Soto usually permitted Indian carriers to return to their homes after they had rendered the service he had asked of them.[33]

5. Frequently De Soto would allow Indians, if they so desired, to remain unfettered with the army and accompany it on the march to the West.[34]

6. It happened on at least one occasion that De Soto was forced by scarcity of food to send the Indians back to their homes.[35] In other words, the "son of perdition" would rather dispense with the service of the Indians than see them die in the service from starvation.

7. De Soto suspected the cacique of Malapaz of treachery and, in order to forestall trouble, placed him under guard. What oc-

[30] *Elvas Narrative*, p. 153.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 184.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 159, 161, 183, 187.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

curred the next day proved that De Soto's suspicion was well founded and his precautionary measure fully justified.[36]

8. At Tascaluça, De Soto trusted the Indian chief, who was secretly plotting with neighboring chiefs to destroy the Spanish army. The result was that a few days later the army had to engage the treacherous Indians in the bloody battle of Mavilla.[37]

9. At Chicaça, the encounter with the Indians was again caused, not by the arrogance and cruelty of the Spaniards, but by the secret conspiracy which the wily Indian chiefs had been hatching against the white men.[38] De Soto wanted friendship and peace, not war and bloodshed.

10. At Casqui, after crossing the Mississippi River, De Soto established peace between the chiefs of Casqui and Pacaha, and as a pledge of mutual goodwill he had the two chiefs sit at the same table with him [39]—another instance, by the way, of Spaniard dealing with Indian on equal terms.

11. Similarly, during the winter spent at Autiamque, there was peace and harmony between the Spaniards and Indians, the latter showing their guests how to catch rabbits.[40]

12. At the battle of Mavilla, in October, 1540, everything necessary for the celebration of Holy Mass was destroyed by the fire that broke out in camp. Up till then, evidently, Holy Mass had been celebrated by the priests who accompanied the expedition, at least on Sundays and holydays of obligation.[41]

13. During the expedition, as long as it was humanly possible, the Spaniards observed the prescribed days of abstinence, namely, the "Fridays and Saturdays and the vigils of holydays." [42]

14. On two recorded occasions De Soto had a large cross erected in the Indian village, once at Achese and again at Casqui. On the

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 189-193.
[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 195-199.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 212.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 223.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 193.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

latter occasion, the Spaniards venerated the cross in the presence of the Indians, De Soto himself explaining to the Indians that the cross was set up and venerated in memory of Christ Who died on the cross for the salvation of man.[43]

15. Shortly before his death, on the banks of the Mississippi River, De Soto summoned his officers to his bedside, thanked them for the faithful service they had rendered, and asked them to pray that through God's mercy he might be pardoned his sins, to forgive what injuries he might have done them, and to recognize as their leader Luis Moscoso, whom he was now placing in command of the army.[44]

These are fifteen distinct incidents which manifest nobility of mind and heart and which a just appraisal of the De Soto expedition cannot leave unnoticed. They are culled from the same source of information, the Elvas narrative, on the strength of which the memory of De Soto and his enterprise has been defamed. The reason why they were omitted by writers is unimportant. What really matters is the omission itself, resulting as it has in a much distorted picture of one of Spain's worthiest explorers.

### *Forced Indian Labor*

The lot of the Indian in Spanish America, especially in reference to forced labor, is another chapter in Spanish American history that has been re-examined in recent years. The first among non-Spanish historians to turn the searchlight of sound scholarship on this portion of the *leyenda negra* was Professor Lesley Byrd Simpson of the University of California, whose critical study[45] of the *encomienda* system appeared in 1929.

The so-called revisionists of Spanish American history know better than to contend that the Spanish colonists never perpetrated cruelties on the Indians among whom they settled. Ill-treatment of a supposedly inferior primitive race always occurs in a conquest

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 167, 207.

[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 232-233.

[45] Simpson, Lesley Byrd, *The Encomienda in New Spain* (Berkeley, Cal., 1929). A later study by Simpson, allied with the other, is *The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala* (Berkeley, Cal., 1938).

undertaken by a people who regard themselves as morally and culturally superior and who for this reason set out to impose their way of life on those whom they have conquered. This occurred in the sixteenth century in Spanish America as it did elsewhere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and in each case the attending cruelties, however understandable, should be neither condoned nor palliated.

Neither do the revisionists hold that the Indian labor system, as evolved by Spain for the benefit of all, was above reproach; nor that the system, known as the *encomienda*, was so tightly circumscribed by law and so rigidly supervised by Spain's officials as to preclude the possibility of abuse. Not every Spaniard, in his dealings with the natives, was a Blessed Sebastian of Aparicio or a Saint Peter Claver. Among the settlers there was in this regard a minority who forgot the Golden Rule, treating the Indians in a manner that belied their Christian selves, offended the vast majority of settlers, and conflicted with Spanish law.

On the question of the *encomienda*, generally the target of severe criticism, one must now agree with Simpson that,

> viewed in the light of the sixteenth century [with mediaeval feudalism still in vogue], the *encomienda* was a logical and wholly justifiable organization of society in the Spanish colonies,

and that, considering the serious problems which the system aimed to solve,

> it may be doubted whether any other large-scale exploitation by a modern colonizing nation has been more successful than the *encomienda* of the Spanish colonies in America.[46]

Even more favorable than this scholarly estimate is the verdict of Dr. Silvio Zavala, whose elaborate study [47] of the legal development of the *encomienda* was published in 1933. Since the appearance of this work, the same Mexican scholar, with the able assistance

[46] Simpson, *The Encomienda*, 189-190. The fact that Simpson did not base his study of the *encomienda* on new manuscript sources makes his conclusion concerning the system all the more interesting.

[47] Zavala, Silvio A., *La Encomienda Indiana* (Madrid, 1935).

of his wife, has edited a series of volumes that contain the original sources for a history of labor in colonial Mexico.[48] These documents shed abundant new light on the *encomienda* and on certain institutions that developed after the *encomienda* ceased to be the main source of native labor. In the light of these documents, economic relations between Spaniards and Indians appear far less reprehensible than has been commonly accepted as historically correct. In fact, an eighty-page monograph by Zavala, based on these new sources, demonstrates among other things that Spain's "Indian vassals owned lands in New Spain not only collectively but also individually, so that their master or *encomendero* could not legally dispossess them of their lands, although there are instances of such violations of the law and of prolonged court litigations to repair them."[49] In other words, contrary to what has been generally believed, the Indian was legally a vassal of Spain, could legally possess lands, and was legally protected by Spain in the possession of them.

### *The "Ludicrous" Manifesto*

The Spaniards have always been sticklers for law.[50] This legal bent of the Spanish mind soon asserted itself in the New World conquest. It gave birth to the so-called *Requerimiento,* a sort of manifesto that was supposed to put the stamp of legality on the forcible seizure of new territory and on the war that such seizure might evoke. On entering a new land, the leader of the expedition had this manifesto read aloud. Regardless of whether or not the natives were within hearing distance or could understand what was read, the notary at a given signal stepped forward and solemnly proclaimed that the Pope, as head of Christendom, had conferred the "islands and land of Terra Firma" on "their Highnesses" of Spain, that Spain was now come in the person of her representatives

[48] They appear under the title *Fuentes para la Historia del Trabajo en Nueva España,* and are published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica in Mexico City. Five volumes have so far appeared, extending to the year 1604.

[49] Zavala, Silvio A., *De Encomiendas y Propiedad Territorial en Algunas Regiones de la América Española* (Mexico, 1940), p. 81.

[50] A useful historical study of Spanish legislation is *The Background of Hispanic-American Law* (Washington, D. C., 1937) by John Thomas Vance.

to take possession of this land, and that for this reason its inhabitants had the choice of either recognizing peacefully the sovereignty of Spain or engaging in the war that Spain would wage to enforce her sovereignty.

It is not surprising that historians, out of sympathy with Spain and her philosophy, should have heaped ridicule on the *Requerimiento.* To quote Hanke:

> Certainly this remarkable proclamation offers many vulnerable spots to the barbs of cynics, and the use made of it by the Spaniards affords consummate proof of the hypocritical religiosity in the Spanish character to persons who already see it there.[51]

From Hanke's study it is plain that " something still remains to be said for the sixteenth century Spanish viewpoint, not as justification, but as explanation." [52] The *Requerimiento* was essentially a product of the era when religion was still deeply rooted in the hearts of men and when the tenets of religion guided public affairs. Without its sanction, however fictitious this sanction might be in itself, even the acquisition of new land by force was regarded as something irreligious and consequently illegal. Taking the oath in our civil courts today is essentially an act of religion; wherefore it is—or at least should be—as sacred in the eyes of the witness taking it as the proclamation of the *Requerimiento* was in the eyes of the Spaniards. Viewing it in this light, one is inclined to agree with Hanke that the *Requerimiento* was something " more than a ridiculous collection of outmoded dogmas ", and that " its history illumines one important facet of that many-sided problem—the Spanish conquest of America." [53]

### *The Inquisition*

As the *Requerimiento* was a target of ridicule and sarcasm, so the Inquisition was an object of indignation and horror. The mere mention of it made people's blood boil and filled their hearts with

[51] Hanke, Lewis, " The ' Requerimiento ' and Its Interpreters," *Revista de Historia de América* (Mexico City), Vol. I (1938), 25-34. The present citation is from a pamphlet reprint of this article, p. 4.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

contempt and hatred for a nation that would employ so savage an institution to achieve its purpose, no matter how commendable this purpose may have been.

Chiefly responsible for this nineteenth-century estimate of the Spanish Inquisition was Juan Antonio Llorente, whose critical history of it, in French, appeared in Paris, in 1817,[54] to be followed by an English translation in 1818, a German one in 1820-1822, and a Spanish one in 1835-1836.[55] Thereafter, according to Merriman,[56] Llorente was one of the "standard authorities" on the Inquisition, until Henry Charles Lea published in 1906-1907 his four-volume history.[57] How long Lea will continue to be one of our "standard authorities" on the Spanish Inquisition remains to be seen. To judge from what has already been found and published on its true history, Lea's future as an authority does not seem very promising.

This follows logically from what is being learned about Lea's chief informant—Llorente. Though known for some time, the following important fact was not given the attention it obviously deserves. When in 1808 the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain, one of those who deserted the cause of Spain and espoused that of France was Llorente. He being a priest and Secretary General of the Inquisition, the French invader quite naturally entrusted to him the records of the Inquisition. Napoleon could be sure that Llorente would take good care of them. And so he did, unfortunately. He carefully selected from the mass of records such as would serve him properly for his *Histoire Critique* and consigned the rest to where they would never be found again—the flames. The discarded ones must not have been important in the eyes of Llor-

[54] Llorente, Juan Antonio, *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne* (Paris, 1817-1818). The *Letters on the Spanish Inquisition* by Joseph le Maistre appeared in 1815 and an English translation of it, prepared by T. J. O'Flaherty, came out in Boston in 1843.

[55] Turberville, A. S., *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York, 1932), p. 142.

[56] Merriman, Roger B., *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, IV (New York, 1934), 158.

[57] Lea, Henry Charles, *A History of the Inquisition in Spain* (New York, 1906-1907). Also, by the same writer, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (New York, 1908).

ente who, according to Juderías, was one of Spain's outstanding representatives of trans-Pyrenean encyclopedism.[58]

However, the cause of historical truth was not entirely lost. The past ten years have witnessed a change of opinion regarding the Spanish Inquisition as it formerly functioned in Spain and in Spanish America. Let it be noted, however, that credit for this change does not belong to those historians who have urged and demonstrated that other European nations, especially England, also had their high court of inquiry, just as secretive and inhuman as the Spanish one in point of procedure. Two wrongs never make a right. Refutation of charges by means of countercharges is no refutation at all.

Real credit for the change mentioned must go to those historians who have patiently ransacked the archives of Europe and America or who in the quiet of their study have applied the accepted canons of historical criticism and put the Spanish Inquisition in its proper historical setting. Thanks to the work of these cool-headed and clear-thinking scholars, we know now that the Spanish Inquisition has been painted blacker than it deserved and that its existence as well as its methods of procedure was not only a product of the times and should be so interpreted, but also that it was a creation of circumstances peculiar in many ways to political and social conditions in Spain.

Furthermore, the Spanish Inquisition is now known to have been an agency of the State and not of the Church. It was established by the civil government and controlled by the king for the protection of Spain against heresy, this being then regarded as an offense against the security of the State and consequently as much a matter for the State to handle as political treason. Such was the attitude of civil governments generally during the Middle Ages. Nor was it entirely abandoned after the Protestant Revolution, not even in the lands where Protestantism gained a foothold. Considering this fact, it might have been better if the institution, as established by Ferdinand and Isabella, had been given another name, instead of retaining the one it went by during the Middle Ages.

[58] Juderías, Julián, *La Leyenda Negra* (Barcelona, 3rd ed., 1917), p. 373. See also *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, Espasa ed., XXXI, 1063.

Be this as it may, unbiased students and writers of history are now seeing the Spanish Inquisition of the sixteenth and later centuries for what it really was and are not hesitating to publish what their studies reveal. A sober estimate, for instance, is that of Professor A. S. Turberville of the University of Leeds, whose work came out in 1932. Another scholar, Aubrey F. G. Bell, in his recent study, contends that " the gloom and fanaticism in sixteenth-century Spain have been greatly exaggerated " ; that " a spirit of humanity and toleration, such as was then [1559] very rare in Europe, marked Spanish thought " ; and that " the Spanish Inquisition was national and was considered a defense against the invasion of foreign heresies, much as a modern State might seek to protect itself against inroads of Bolshevism." [59]

As we see it now, Spain was fully justified in extending the powers of her Inquisition to the New World colonies. It was a safeguard against the possibility of religious and political disruption. Without the watchful eye of the Holy Office, Spain would not have retained her colonies so long nor governed them so successfully as she did. The Inquisition was the government's weapon with which to curb the deleterious influences of foreigners and the occasional manifestations of sedition among the Spanish colonists. According to a recent writer, " the Inquisition in Mexico was a dependency of the one in Spain and . . . both were managed and governed according to the same laws; wherefore, as long as there is no evidence to the contrary, we must say the same about the Inquisition in Mexico that we say about the one in Spain." [60] This statement is correct and it applies to all regions of Spanish America.

As to the Mexican Inquisition in particular, recent investigations are showing that earlier judgments have been quite unfair. The records of this tribunal are voluminous and are housed in the Archivo General where scholars with proper credentials may consult them.

[59] Bell, Aubrey F. G., *Luís de León* (Oxford, 1925), pp. 41, 45, 54.

[60] Navarette, Lic. Felix, *La Lucha entre el Poder Civil y el Clero á la Luz de la Historia* (El Paso, Tex., n. d.), p. 23. This is a scholarly and heavily documented reply to the charges made by Emilio Portes Gil in his *La Labor Sediciosa del Clero Mexicano* (Madrid, 1935).

Fortunately, Mexico was not invaded by a Napoleon Bonaparte and its Inquisition papers were not entrusted to the tender mercies of a Llorente. A careful study of these papers has been under way for some time. A scholar of high repute gave the present writer the assurance that his contemplated volume on the Mexican Inquisition will prove a rather startling revelation. The farther he gets into the records, the more he is becoming convinced that the Holy Office, as it functioned in Mexico, was one of the most just and most humane juridical institutions in history.

In 1939 an illuminating pamphlet was published on a matter that involved the Mexican Inquisition. In it was a letter which Joaquin García Icazbalceta wrote to José María Vigil in 1885.[61] Vigil wanted to know what García Icazbalceta thought of the story about Fray Martin Durán which had appeared in Carrion's *Galería de Indios Célebres de la República Mexicana*. The reply of García Icazbalceta is the letter just referred to. In it he proves conclusively that the name of Fray Martin Durán and the story concerning him are pure inventions, clumsily perpetrated by someone who wanted to take a fling at the Inquisition but did not have brains enough to keep glaring inconsistencies, contradictions, and anachronisms out of his story.

Commenting on this story, García Icazbalceta makes the following pertinent observation:

> Let us leave the painful matter because it is truly deplorable and saddening in its results that, instead of sweeping out the innumerable fables which distort our history and correcting the utterly erroneous criteria which are employed in interpreting it, there are those who purposely continue planting fairy tales in order to flatter passions, fasten error, and just about corrupt everything. The vicious propaganda spreads rapidly because of the fact that it is vicious. The fable of Fray Martín with all its flimsiness passes from the little perused pages of Sr. Zerecero to those of Sr. Sosa, whence they are transferred immediately to those of Sr. Pimentel. Now there are already three authors who carry the story. This makes it very easy for a fourth to appear and with even greater right comes the fifth. Thereafter, with such backing—*vires acquirit eundo*—it will be an established fact

[61] See *Joaquín García Icazbalceta: Carta á José María Vigil* (Mexico, 1939).

> and Fray Martín, the *Mexican Savonarola,* will be a fixture in our history which no human power will be able to remove from it.[62]

It is the general opinion among historians today that in its operations the Inquisition was far less harsh in Spanish America than it was in the mother country. At no time, for instance, did the Indian population come under its jurisdiction. The officials themselves are now known to have frequently connived at violations of the Inquisition code. Its blighting effects on social and cultural conditions have been grossly exaggerated. Thanks to recent investigations, it is becoming clear that, as Carlos Pereyra contends, the Inquisition was an ordnance set up to defend those within the fortress and not a menacing fieldpiece that threatened those outside the fortress.[63]

### *The "Blighting" Index*

Perhaps none of the activities of the Spanish Inquisition has been more roundly criticised than the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and the *Index Expurgatorius.* No wonder the Spaniards of the sixteenth and following centuries were intellectually and culturally so far behind the times. And Spain's hapless vassals in the New World, no wonder they were such an ignorant and backward lot. To quote González Peña:

> Life, mute and monotonous, offered no incentive to literary activity. Being isolated from every foreign influence, the colony even more than Spain was ignorant of the intellectual renovation which the world was undergoing. Censorship prevented printed books from entering that were not previously subjected to a rigorous inspection; wherefore it is understandable why so few entered. Neither could they be printed here without the permission of the censor. Consequently it was not possible for thought to fly unhampered, removed as it was from every foreign competition and curbed at home in the exercise of freedom.[64]

Fortunately, this opinion is no longer so generally accepted as it used to be. On the question of the *Index* several important studies

[62] *Ibid.,* pp. 31-32.

[63] Pereyra, Carlos, *La Obra de España en América* (Madrid, 1930), p. 304.

[64] Gonzalez Peña, Carlos, *Historia de la Literatura Mexicana* (Mexico, 2nd ed., 1940), p. 81.

have been recently made, adducing facts and emphasizing circumstances that were either not known before or were not accorded the attention they deserve. For instance, the English historian, R. Trevor Davies, made this observation in 1937:

> Not infrequently, too, books were banned [by the *Index*] simply on the ground that they were not worth publishing. Poor literary quality or reasoning or unsound workmanship often weighed more heavily against a book than mere heterodoxy or obscenity.[65]

The same writer contends that the manner in which the Holy Office compiled the *Index Expurgatorius* " made the Spanish censorship of the press—contrary to usual opinion—about the most liberal in Europe." [66] Such statements sound strange because they conflict with what has so long been taken for granted.

With regard to the Spanish American colonists, it is no longer entirely safe to hold that the *Index* made advancement in science impossible or that it robbed the colonists of the pleasures that polite literature affords. No longer may one indulge the ugly picture of Spanish inquisitors, armed with the *Index,* ransacking the cargo of every outgoing and incoming ship or rummaging the homes of suspected colonists in eager search for books that were not strictly spiritual and devotional. There was a time when this picture was considered historically correct. But that time has happily passed, thanks to the group of scholars who in recent years have made inestimable contributions to the history of culture in Spanish America.

Of these scholars especially two in the United States have uncovered astonishing facts. They are Professor Irving A. Leonard of Brown University and Professor John Tate Lanning of Duke University. A real revelation, at least to the English-speaking world, was the volume which Leonard published in 1933 on the romances of chivalry that circulated in the colonies of Spanish America.[67]

[65] Trevor Davies, R., *The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621* (London, 1937), p. 144.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

[67] Leonard, Irving A., *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies* (Berkeley, Cal., 1933). Another valuable work of Professor Leonard is *Don*

Having personally examined the ancient cargo registers of book shipments to America, he reported that, concerning books in general,

> it is not unusual to find a single shipment of more than a thousand volumes. In January, 1601, there is a register of one dealer, covering a total of some 10,000 books—a substantial order even in the present day and age of groaning presses and cheap books! [68]

As to the character of the books that entered the colonies, Leonard estimates that polite literature was represented by only about twenty-five to fifteen per cent of the total. Nevertheless, he contends that

> the actual number of volumes of fiction and poetry was considerable, owing to the surprisingly large and continuous shipments of books that were made. This would make it appear that the reading public residing in the colonies, especially Peru and Mexico, must have been far larger than has been suspected.[69]

Elsewhere the same scholar, jointly with Professor Green, came to the conclusion that "we have no right to condemn the Spanish colonial regime as *tres siglos de teocracia, escurantismo y barbarie.*[70]

An Argentinian scholar of high repute, José Torre Revello, has more recently published a critical study [71] that fully confirms the earlier conclusions of Professor Leonard. Its author is certainly right when he declares that the sixth chapter of the study "destroys

*Carlos de Siguenza y Góngora* (Berkeley, Cal., 1929). Other writings of his, pertinent to the matter under discussion, are the following: "A Mexican 'Máscara' of the Seventeenth Century," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos*, II (1929), 156-267; "Some Curiosities of Spanish Colonial Poetry," *Hispania*, XV (1932), 39-54; "A Shipment of *Comedias* to the Indies," *Hispanic Review*, II (1934), 39-50; "An Early Peruvian Adaptation of Corneille's *Rodogune*," *Hispanic Review*, V (1937), 172-176; "Notes on Lope de Vega's Works in the Spanish Indies," *Hispanic Review*, VI (1938), 277-293; jointly with Otis H. Green, "On the Mexican Booktrade in 1600: A Chapter on Cultural History," *Hispanic Review*, IX (1941), reprint.

[68] Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry*, 14.

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

[70] Green-Leonard, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[71] Torre Revello, José, *El Libro, la Imprenta, y el Periodismo en América durante la Dominación Española* (Buenos Aires, 1940).

without blasts of rhetoric the traditional legend about the persecution waged against books in America during the colonial era." [72] As to Spanish laws controlling the exportation of books to the colonies, Torre Revello proves conclusively that "such laws were left more or less unenforced in all their aspects" and that,

> thanks to this violation of the law, since the sixteenth century when most of the restrictive laws were promulgated, the colonists in America read as much in the realm of culture as they pleased and as much as could be read by the peninsular subjects of the Spanish monarch.[73]

To corroborate these statements and to let his readers judge for themselves, the author of this valuable study prints twenty-eight cargo registers of books approved by the authorities for shipment to the colonies. Twelve of these registers cover the last years of the sixteenth century, beginning with 1586, while ten pertain to the seventeenth and the remaining six to the eighteenth century. One is surprised to find in these lists such a large number of purely cultural and recreational works, and popular works of fiction like the trilogy, *Espejo de Caballerias*, the widely read *Palmarines* series, and even the *Amadis de Gaula*. The ancient classics are amply represented by Cicero, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Homer, Plautus, Terence, and Pliny the Elder; while among the modern European classics are listed, for instance, *Las Luisiadas* of Camoens, *Los Cuatro Libros del Cortesano* of Baltasar Castellon, *Las Mujeres Ilustres* of Boccaccio, and the *Dialogo de las Empresas Militares y Amorosas* of Paulo Iovio. The fact that all these works are so frequently listed as translations from the original into Spanish seems to show that there was a demand for them not only in educational circles but also among the more general reading public. Some of them are found in practically all the registers which Torre Revello publishes, except those of Boccaccio and Iovio, owing to the fact that these were later prohibited by the Holy Office. Other cultural and recreational works on the lists are summarized by Torre Revello as follows: two

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

song-writers and romancers, eight poets, four writers of comedies, and ten novelists.[74]

When scanning these lists and those published by Leonard, one wonders how long the old legend of ignorance and backwardness in colonial Spanish America can survive under the weight of such demolishing evidence.

The same is true regarding the status of higher education, concerning which the current opinion has been so derogatory to Spain. On this question Professor Lanning has uncovered for the English-speaking world some highly significant data. The first fruits of his researches along this line are now available in the splendid study he published in 1940.[75] Though neither complete nor final, the data here presented certainly call for a change of opinion as to what was done in the colleges and universities of Spanish America during colonial times.

Discussing the twenty-three universities that functioned, Professor Lanning estimates [76] that the total number of university degrees conferred before the end of the era was approximately 150,000. Correspondingly large, then, must have been the total number of students who attended the universities, unless we assume that among the students there were no defections owing to impaired health or to other reasons beyond their control, no dismissals on account of infractions of the university's disciplinary regulations, no failures at the examinations required for graduation. The total number of academic degrees conferred by the University of Mexico was 39,367. But, as Lanning points out, " this figure does not include the candidates from Puebla, Oaxaca, Valladolid, Durango, and Guadalajara who never came up to the capital [as was required in New Spain] to go through the examinations and ceremonies of investiture." [77]

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 233-235.

[75] Lanning, John Tate, *Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies* (London, 1940).

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[77] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

As to the courses of studies pursued at the universities, the students as well as their professors were surprisingly well abreast of the times in the field of philosophy. On this point Lanning says:

> A new photographic collection of manuscript and printed theses from the university archives of Mexico, Guatemala, Caracas, Chile, and Córdoba, illustrating all possible philosophies held from 1750 to 1810 has, in the course of the last decade, grown beyond five thousand.[78]

Whether this number, already considerable, will grow larger as researches go on remains to be seen. From what has been so far discovered, however, it is plain that the university circles of colonial Spanish America were familiar with the " enlightened " productions of eighteenth-century Europe, despite the Inquisition and its *Index*. Perhaps the lynx-eyed inquisitors were asleep when these productions were unloaded from the ships and conveyed to their consignees, or perhaps they had grown tired of snooping and were adopting a policy of mute connivance. Certain it is, they were not pestering professors and students who dared to think the new thoughts and examine the new doctrines. And presuming that then as now professors as well as students needed books, one is rather strongly inclined to conclude from recent investigations that the *Index Expurgatorius* was either entirely inoperative or in its operation no longer a stumbling block to true science and mental improvement. There is no other way of reconciling the discoveries of scholars like Lanning with what has been so long and so widely accepted as the unvarnished truth concerning the blighting effects of the Inquisition and the *Index* on the cultural status of colonial Spanish America.

Speaking of university enrollments, another observation is quite in order. If, as is now known, these enrollments were at least larger than has been supposed, what about the contemporary status of elementary education? If hundreds of young men at a given time were pursuing higher studies at the various universities, they must have previously received an elementary training somewhere, either at home from private tutors or in the school of their native town.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

True, elementary training may not have been compulsory, as it is today in our own country, and may have lacked the co-ordination of efforts and the wealth of facilities that our schools enjoy. But that it was so limited in scope and so deficient in means and methods as we have been made to believe seems no longer tenable.

Considering the thousands of books that in the course of time reached the colonies in Spanish America — regardless of what the content character of the books may have been—to whom, it may be asked, were they sold and by whom were they read? To judge from the lists, very many of the books were for popular consumption. It is not conceivable that the dealers who ordered them, after paying the bills, destroyed the books, thus magnanimously killing two birds with one stone—getting the dangerous books out of Spain and preventing the colonists from being contaminated by them.[79] In short, to quote Leonard once more:

> When all the evidence has been assembled, duly sifted and evaluated, it may be found that the shadows of ignorance in which the Spaniards were reputed to have enveloped their American possessions were not so thick nor, with due allowance for the spirit of the times, was the despotism of the authorities, both ecclesiastical and secular, so complete as has been pictured.[80]

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The seven points discussed at some length in this paper are not the only ones concerning which in recent years new facts have been uncovered and new interpretations advanced. Let it suffice to mention but a few of the many that writers and teachers will have to consider when dealing with the Spanish colonial empire. From a study published by Lewis Hanke in 1935 we learn that in Hispaniola, from 1508 to 1514 and again in 1520, Spain tried out the scheme of granting full citizenship to the Indians; that in Cuba the same

[79] The present writer made these and other points in a paper entitled "The Spanish Universities of the New World," *Catholic Educational Review*, XXXVIII (1940), 216-229.

[80] Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry*, 44.

experiment was made and extended over a period of ten years, from 1525 to 1535; and that the Laws of Burgos, promulgated in 1513, considered the Indians capable of carrying on as full fledged citizens of the Spanish commonwealth.[81] The same generosity was recalled a few years ago when the tercentenary of Harvard University again stressed the fact that the first secondary school in America was not Harvard College, founded in 1636, but the Colegio de Santa Cruz which Spain established in Mexico exactly one hundred years earlier, in 1536. Let it be remembered that this Colegio was erected for the Indians and not for the whites.[82] Similarly, the fourth centenary of printing in America, commemorated in 1939, occasioned the publication of monographs which shed abundant new light on important issues connected with the beginnings of the public press in the New World.[83] Finally, the new edition of the much cited *Noticias Secretas*, now under way, will necessarily direct attention to the practically unknown history of the *colegios de misiones* which flourished in Spanish America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[84]

[81] Hanke, Lewis, *The First Social Experiments in America* (Cambridge, 1935), pp. 27, 44, 49.

[82] See the present writer's study, "The First College in America: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco," *Catholic Educational Review*, XXXIV (1936), 449-462, 603-617.

[83] Following are some of the critical studies occasioned by the centennial: Emilio Valton, *Impresos Mexicanos del Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1935); Juan B. Iguiniz, *La Imprenta en la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1938); *IV Centenario de la Imprenta en México, la Primera en América* (Mexico, 1939), a series of scholarly studies, published by the Asociación de Libreros de México; Carlos E. Castañeda, "Beginnings of Printing in America," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX (1940), 671-685; Roman Zulaica Garate, *Los Franciscanos y la Imprenta en México en el Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1938); José Torre Revello, *El Libro, la Imprenta y el Periodismo en América* (Buenos Aires, 1940); and the present writer's "Juan Pablos: El Gutenberg Americano" in his *Ensayos Históricos Hispanoamericanos* (Mexico, 1940), pp. 9-27.

[84] See *Proceedings* of the First Convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association (Washington, D. C., 1938), pp. 219-234; also the present writer's study "Los Colegios Misioneros Franciscanos en la América Española," published in the official *Report* of the Segundo Congreso Internacional de Historia de América (Buenos Aires, 1938), III, 373-386, and reprinted in his *Ensayos Históricos Hispanoamericanos* (Mexico, 1940), pp. 57-74.

Anyone whose duties and interests have kept him in touch with what has been published on the colonial history of Spanish America during the past ten years or so will agree that the so-called revisionist movement is steadily widening its sphere of activity and influence, both here in the United States and in our sister republics south of the border. The movement is a healthy one and deserves the recognition and support it is receiving from those who desire a truthful and unbiased presentation of Spanish American history. If it continues to observe the accepted canons of sound historical scholarship, the revisionist movement is bound to bring us closer to the people who inhabit the lands that once belonged to Spain and Portugal and where the impress left by the latter is still so much in evidence. So many of the problems confronting these people today have their root in the colonial era, to the history of which in all its ramifications the movement in question proposes to accord fairer treatment than it has received at the hands of earlier historians.

FRANCIS BORGIA STECK

# ST. IGNACE—CANADIAN ALTAR OF MARTYRDOM *

AT the outset I must in all justice make clear to whom credit must be given for success in finding the Huronian mission-fortress, St. Ignace II. It must be given jointly to the late Alphonse Arpin of Midland and the late T. G. Connon of Goderich. Their respective contributions to the discovery and the parts played by my associates and myself will emerge as the story proceeds.

I wish to make it plain that our study is still short of being final. My colleagues and I are endeavoring to bring it up to that stage through progressive improvements and additions. We invite suggestion and advice to that end.

Since our story is long and space is limited we must employ every means of compression consistent with clearness. The first most obvious step is to assume that the reader knows the basic facts of the story, that is, where Huronia is, the record of the Jesuit mission in that region, and, above all, the martyrdom of St. Jean de Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant, on March 16, 1649, at the second Mission of St. Ignace. Like countless others the reader has asked the question: Where is St. Ignace? and has received the same answer: Nobody yet knows.

The chief purpose of this article is to bring the reader our answer: We believe that St. Ignace has been found. This answer is given, after years of the most painstaking study and investigation, by a group of scholars for whom I have had the honor of acting as it were as executive secretary. The announcement of the answer has been postponed until all members of the group were in agreement that the answer is sound and is supported by material evidence. We can assure the reader that the fullest scholarly caution has been exercised.

* Paper read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, October 8, 1941, London, Ontario.

The great massacre at St. Ignace II took place, as has been said, in March, 1649. So violent was this blow that the whole mission to Huronia dissolved in 1650. This meant nothing else than the total withdrawal of the white man and the Huron from this whole territory; no one was left there to remember and to mark the scene of the martyrdom. When after nearly two centuries the white man returned, this and other similar scenes had been utterly lost in primeval forest.

The first person to undertake a systematic search was Father Chazelle, who in 1844 visited the region for the express purpose of exploring the mission sites. Amongst these he sought that of St. Ignace. Apparently deriving his guidance as to the general direction in which he should prosecute his search from the inset map of Huronia in Ducreux's map of New France published in Paris in 1660, he first looked for it in the territory in which we believe we have found it. This tract is situated on the east bank of the Sturgeon River in Tay Township, Simcoe County. If he did not actually stand on the site of St. Ignace, he was very close to it. In a letter summing up his visit he records, in substance, this simple brief remark: I know the region in which St. Louis and St. Ignace lie but I know nothing of the situation of either.

The next investigator was Father Félix Martin who, in 1855, supported financially by the government, visited the region of the Huron missions. While he reached no conclusion in regard to St. Ignace, he left us two maps which reveal the lines of his thought. Between 1860 and 1865 a certain Dr. J. C. Taché conducted periodic explorations of the territory and published notes that influenced many of Parkman's judgments in regard to the geography of the Huron mission.

In the last decade of the last century Father Arthur Edward Jones, S.J., a former member of the Royal Society, began a thorough, consecutive study of the whole mission. To this he devoted himself indefatigably for many years. The present students of the subject are deeply indebted to him for his compendious notes, observations, collation of pertinent documents and maps, and conclusions which he has bequeathed *en bloc* to us under the appropriate title, *Old*

*Huronia*. In those instances where Father Jones found reason to believe his earlier conclusions unwarranted, he candidly withdrew them. In 1898 he claimed to have found the site of St. Ignace II in Medonte Township, lot 24 of concession VIII. This situation is marked in the map that appears in Volume XXXIV of Thwaites' edition of the Jesuit *Relations*. In 1908 he admitted that he was wrong, having ignored the figures of the distances between Ste. Marie and St. Louis and between St. Louis and St. Ignace II as given by the careful Father Ragueneau.

In 1900 Mr. A. F. Hunter of Barrie, a student of the archaeology of Simcoe County, announced his conclusion that a long-known important ancient Indian village on the Newton farm, lot 2, concession VII of Tay Township, was the site of St. Ignace II. This he reaffirmed in a pamphlet he published in 1911. But this identification did not long stand undisputed. All competent investigators who visited the place noted immediately that the Newton village was conspicuously marked by an abundance of deep ash beds and other typical remains which itself characterizes a place that had been occupied for a long time. This could not possibly be St. Ignace, which had been inhabited for about ten months only. Besides, according to Ragueneau's firsthand authority (and to another secondary authority), St. Ignace appears to have been about two leagues distant from Ste. Marie. The Newton village is about three miles distant from the mother mission. What, then, was this village? By 1908 Father Jones had affirmed it to be St. Louis, the identification now generally accepted. However, there were still a few doubters in 1923, when the Historic Sites and Monuments Board erected a cairn on the site, and on the inscription attached thereto intimated that the village was either St. Louis or St. Ignace. Since then it has been recognized, practically without dissent, as St. Louis. Of the soundness of this conclusion the late Mr. Wintemberg was very positive; to the last he felt that the identity of two key places in Huronia had been established—Ste. Marie and St. Louis.

But where was St. Ignace? In 1903 and again in 1915 Father Jones claimed the Campbell farm, lot 4, concession VII, Tay Township, as the site of St. Ignace. Strange to say, in his *Old Huronia*

he records this claim just after pointing to the promising possibilities of the very spot which we now believe to be St. Ignace. Apparently obsessed by the need of looking for a lofty commanding site for a fortress, he chose the towering hill of the Campbell farm and deliberately ignored the obvious qualifications of the other place. Actually a shrine was begun on this eminence but shortly afterwards abandoned. It is one of the common ironies of history that very often pioneer explorers set foot on the plot they seek and yet fail to recognize it.

But despite nearly a century of disappointment the search went on. It is at this point that the present group joined the long file of seekers. We owe the opportunity to a citizen of Midland, who, though a completely unlettered man, had nevertheless the instincts of a research scholar.

From his youth Alphonse Arpin had heard and absorbed the tales of the mission and missionaries of Huronia. As history they fascinated him and as accounts of sacrificial leaders of the Church they deepened his faith. At length he became possessed of the desire to know the place where Brébeuf and Lalemant were martyred. St. Ignace? he asked, Where is it? Nobody knew. He made it his sacred duty to find it. He persuaded a relative to read to him over and over again the pertinent passages in the Jesuit letters. In time he was able to repeat them word for word. Armed with these data and with his ripe experience as a woodsman, over a period of years he thoroughly explored the region concerned. His knowledge of the natural primitive trails across the country, which Indian and missionary must have followed in moving from village to village, was unparalleled as to exactness and fullness. At last he found the spot which corresponded to all the particulars known concerning St. Ignace. At the same time he unexpectedly acquired a colleague.

By one of those unexplainable coincidences that occur but once or twice in a lifetime he met another seeker for St. Ignace. This was Mr. T. G. Connon of Goderich, a native of Elora, who in his youth under his school teacher, David Boyle, an Ontario authority on Indian archaeology, had received an informal training and much inspiration in study and in actual exploration in this field. To this

early acquired interest he added an interest in the mission to the Hurons. Immediately after their fortuitous meeting in 1932 Arpin and Connon proceeded to the place Arpin claimed to be the scene of the martyrdom. Together they visited the place and explored the whole region many times, and Connon even more times alone. The problem of the distances between the missions concerned them. Arpin traced the primitive trails and led the way; Connon followed pushing before him a bicycle wheel equipped with a cyclometer. According to oral statements made to Wintemberg, Landon, and the writer by Connon, they found the distance between Ste. Marie and the village now generally accepted as St. Louis as three miles and about three hundred yards, and that between the latter and the site now believed to be St. Ignace II, as three miles and about one hundred yards. Despite the apparent satisfactoriness of these figures both men saw clearly the pressing need of having the site explored by the most competent authority available in Canada. To securing such a person they proceeded to devote every effort.

This, I repeat, was in 1932. Mr. Connon after conferring with interested friends sought to secure the active assistance of W. J. Wintemberg of the Division of Anthropology of the National Museum of Canada. There then ensued two years of frequent correspondence, now filed in the University of Western Ontario, in which Wintemberg candidly declares his scepticism as to the authenticity of the site so ardently sponsored by Connon. In the autumn of 1934 the latter, realizing the University's interest and experience in such matters, sought its aid. Wilfrid Jury, a curator of the University museum, and the writer studied at leisure the data compiled by Connon as well as the body of relevant literature, visited the site and the surrounding region, and reached the conclusion that the site merited serious investigation. In our turn we sought the assistance of Wintemberg, and thanks to his chief, Dr. Diamond Jenness, success rewarded the effort. This result was most timely and fortunate since in 1936 both Arpin and Connon died within a few months of each other. This left us as the sole custodians of the information gathered by our predecessors. Arpin, being unschooled, transmitted his story and observations orally and their

sole repository is our memory; copies of Connon's papers were entrusted to the University. In the spring of 1941 another calamity overtook the band of investigators in the lamented passing of Mr. Wintemberg himself. This has thrown upon the author and his colleagues a unique and rather difficult responsibility.

In August, 1937, Wintemberg began his exploration of the site. The area consists of an almost level sandy plateau of thirty acres or more which rises to a height of fifty feet above the Sturgeon River, a stream bounded on the east by precipitous banks. The area is deeply indented by steep-banked ravines which branch off from the greater ravine of the river. The tract is technically described as the east halves of lots 5 and 6, concession IX, Tay Township. The half of lot 6 is part of the Connor farm and the half of lot 5 part of the Hamilton farm. The two halves are separated by a fence marking an unused road allowance which lies to the north of the fence. It is important to note that all of the investigators, from Arpin to Wintemberg inclusive, believed that the most promising section for discovery was in the north corner of the supposed site, that is, on the Connor farm. It was there that Wintemberg began his spade work in 1937.

After working for several days without results Wintemberg was inclined to believe that his initial doubts were warranted. However, a happy inspiration derived from an observation recorded by Connon led him across the fence to probe into the soil of the Hamilton farm. Almost immediately he obtained significant results in the discovery of a line of post molds of a palisade indicated on Connon's rough map of the area. He followed this for a sufficient distance to convince him that he had found the site of a large and important Huron fortress. When he compared the contours of the land bounding the area with Ragueneau's clear though brief description of St. Ignace, he found the correspondence almost exact. Still cautiously refraining from the conclusion that he had unearthed a part of St. Ignace, he realized clearly that the task now confronting him was too extensive and significant to be completed in that campaign. So he decided to cease operations then and to return in 1938. He reported to his chief and the writer alone his belief in the promise

of the site and wrote a summary of his work and provisional judgments.

In July, 1938, he resumed his work and carried it on to a successful conclusion, that is, a conclusion in the sense that he was thoroughly convinced that he had uncovered St. Ignace on the Hamilton farm, but not a conclusion in the sense that no more digging was required. He felt he had enough light to enable him to identify the place; further digging would serve to throw more light upon the number and the structure of the habitations within the enclosure.

When he closed his work on the site it was agreed between us that we would not publish the results until he should have time to complete his own reports and maps, and until we who had been working with him on the site and in the library could make all the required comparisons with his documents. However, through babbling workmen engaged on the digging, some news of it leaked out. Unfortunately, also, our plans for the comparison of findings were foiled by Wintemberg's serious illness. Finally, in December, 1940, this illness took on a grave phase and Dr. Jenness thoughtfully entrusted Wintemberg's reports and charts to the writer. These had not been put in ordered form, I regret to say, yet they were sufficient to supply us with the basic facts of Wintemberg's findings and judgments. No serious gaps were left, and those that existed could be filled through memory of frequent discussions with him both on the site and elsewhere.

Now what was found? Under present circumstances compression must be observed and full statement and argument deferred to later and extended publication.

Lacking as we do the recovery of any object on the site that bears the name or symbol of the village or of either one of the martyred missionaries, we are unable to establish what may be called a proof of the kind obtaining in mathematics or precise law. Our demonstration can be made only from circumstantial evidence. However, everybody knows how convincing many conclusions of this nature are.

(1) That the village belonged to the time of the Mission was made plain through the finding, by the owners of the property, of two iron

axes of that period and of a knife-blade of hard wrought-iron. Examination of the latter by Dr. O. W. Ellis, Director of Metallurgy and Engineering of the Ontario Research Foundation, showed it to consist of one piece of hardened wrought-iron, made in the manner of manufacture of such articles prevailing in the seventeenth century. The chances of this knife belonging to the nineteenth century are, according to Dr. Ellis, very remote.

(2) The paucity on the site of articles of this kind and of this period is probably to be explained in the recorded fact that the Iroquois, returning from St. Louis to St. Ignace, carried away certain useful articles. That their rapacity was not limited to the articles specified is most probable. Ordinarily on Indian sites such objects are recovered from the refuse dumps. On this site no dumps have as yet been found; this conforms closely to the condition that one would expect to find at St. Ignace, which was inhabited at the most for ten months, if quite as long as that. At best the deposits of refuse and ashes would be so shallow as to be obliterated by rain and by the tillage of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the sides of the ravines where one would normally look for refuse deposits are now heavily overgrown with large trees; in the days when the place was occupied they would be stripped bare so as to afford no protection or foothold for the enemy.

(3) Wintemberg's spade uncovered a palisaded village ten acres in extent, a large village as such habitations were amongst the Hurons. The palisade completely encircled the area, as the continuous line of post moulds shows. It was constructed strictly in accordance with the specifications set forth by Sagard as characteristic of the Hurons' practice in fortifying their strong and important frontier defence posts. The line of stakes was fitted, in the most approved workmanlike fashion, into the significant features of the contours of the natural defences provided by the ravines and the river. Within the palisade and close to the west end of the enclosure were the outlines of two typical Huron long-houses, each one hundred feet or more in length and thirty feet or more in width. Wintemberg believed that further digging will reveal the traces of numerous houses covering the whole inner area.

We turn now to the nature of the land on which the discovered village stands.

Ragueneau thus describes the fortress and its site: "This was surrounded by a palisade of pine trunks from fifteen to sixteen feet in height and on three sides was protected by the strong natural defence of a deep ravine; the fourth side, which was of no great length, was weaker than the others. It was at that point that at dawn the enemy made a breach in the palisade . . ."

Bearing this in mind consider the village site on the Hamilton farm as we know it. The ten-acre tract on which the village stood is almost completely encircled by a continuous ravine shaped like a huge letter U. The base of this figure (that is, the west side of the enclosure) is formed by the Sturgeon River and its precipitous bank. The north side consists of a deep gully which, gradually becoming less deep, cuts far into the plateau in an easterly direction. The south side is of a similar nature. These two sides as they advance eastwards by perceptible degrees draw closer to each other. The fourth and weak side of the fortification lies along the short line connecting their ends, that is, the tips of the two arms of the U. The surveyor's figures denoting the altitude of the several levels above an arbitrary base and the river reveal unmistakably the depths of the ravines and the virtual flatness of the top of the plateau. The average height of the plateau above the river is about forty feet. The contour lines set forth with equal clearness the abruptness and defensive strength of the declivities that hemmed the village in. Indubitably those who chose this site faithfully observed such typical specifications as Sagard had in mind.

In one of his reports Mr. Wintemberg declares unequivocally: "I know of no other site in the neighborhood that fulfills all the requirements of Father Ragueneau's description given in the Jesuit Relations of 1649." This statement was made only after a thorough exploration of all possible sites in the region. In this he concurs fully with the conclusions reached independently and after long and painstaking investigations by Arpin, Connon, Jury, Father Lally, the writer, and others.

Before proceeding now to the very difficult task of reaching a conclusion regarding the identity of the place we have been studying

I must strike a note of warning. North American Indian archaeology and exploration are very different from the archaeology of Italy and Greece, with which most scholars are familiar and in which others of us, like myself, have been trained. The North American Indian was illiterate. Having no method of permanently recording events or of marking places, he has lacked a Pausanias to guide searchers of later generations to the sites of his fortresses, villages, and buildings. Since all his constructions were frail and perishable, their remains are now of necessity scanty. A special technique is required to find, trace, and interpret them. Besides, nearly every site now known has been dug over by irresponsible curio hunters for generations and the relics unearthed have been scattered without classification among hundreds of amateur collections. The scientific observer has come on the scene too late to be as scientific as his conscience and training prompt him to be. The critic of this study and other similar studies must bear this constantly in mind and temper his judgment accordingly. A concrete instance in regard to which this attitude must obtain is found in the ancient village on the Newton farm, now believed to be St. Louis, which has been the victim of nearly a century of uncontrolled looting.

In another respect also Indian archaeology differs from the familiar archaeologies: a very small number of written studies are made of our Indian sites; most of the judgments concerning them are transmitted orally from scholar to scholar in conversation or in more or less formal conference. Nevertheless, over the years this method leads, in the main, to sound conclusions. We regret as much as any scholar can the slim proportion of published studies in the archaeology of Huronia. The alternative to relying chiefly upon oral report is to bring all Huronia before the court as Exhibit A, which is, of course, impossible.

Following the method employed by Connon we start our survey at a point that is known, that is, Ste. Marie. As a broad guide we employ Ducreux's inset map of Huronia, which, though not published with the general map until 1660, seems, according to internal evidences, to have been drawn between 1642 and early in 1648. If that is true, it could not be expected to indicate the very last changes

in the sites of the missions. For instance, it could not show the second St. Ignace. Moreover, like many another early map, it distorts the area which it purports to delineate. Nevertheless, with all its defects, it is useful in indicating directions. Certainly, Ducreux indicates with fair accuracy the relative situations of the five rivers which flow northward into Matchedash Bay. This fact is of great service.

The first place whose position one should seek to determine is St. Louis, where the martyrs were seized by the Iroquois. Ducreux's map shows it to lie in a generally eastward direction from Ste. Marie. As for its distance from the latter we are not without references. Father Ragueneau writing from Ste. Marie only a few weeks after the great tragedy records that St. Louis was " not more than a league distant." Four years later Bressani states that ". . . the smoke which we saw from the place where our dwelling was, which [note not *and which*, as Father Jones translates it] was not more than two miles distant, was, in association with its color, the first intimation we had of this disaster . . ."

Now what is a league in our modern measure of overland distances? There's the rub. According to the information yielded jointly by Guérin, Larousse, and Littré, there are eight different French leagues from which to choose. These vary in length from 3.268 to 5.849 kilometers, that is, from 2.031 to 3.635 miles. Two Italian miles equal 3,704 metres, or 2.302 miles, a distance which lies within the foregoing range of variation. In including Bressani's figures we are deliberately ignoring the looseness of his syntax and the consequent ambiguity of his meaning. Certainly he has not made it clear whether the smoke appeared to be at a distance of two Italian miles from Ste. Marie, or was rising from a place which was known to be two miles away. If he meant the former he was employing a most deceptive and unreliable means of estimating distance across an expanse of territory, whether forested or cleared, whether hilly or level. This is known to the most amateurish of woodsmen. If Bressani believed that he was speaking of a known distance, he was not very far out in a reference to an area in which estimates of distances were, for practical purposes, generally understood to be

approximations. That the missionaries carefully measured the distances is to me unthinkable.

In beginning this new investigation of the area, Connon and Arpin marked out an area lying broadly between the east and south of Ste. Marie ranging from a distance of two miles to three and two-thirds miles from Ste. Marie. This they scrutinized time and again with the utmost care and in utter disregard of time. Within this tract they examined every known Indian site and every spot that could possibly have been the site of a major Huron and mission defence post such as St. Louis was known to be. Their conclusion was that the ancient village on the Newton farm alone met all the conditions and was itself St. Louis. Wintemberg later went over the ground and reached the same conclusion. Of this identity he was convinced, even after making due allowance for the fact that several generations of looting of the place by amateur diggers now made scientific excavation impossible. Even the looters had in their disorderly way cumulatively produced evidence that was satisfactory to him. Added to this was Connon's and Arpin's finding that the measured distance between Ste. Marie and this place was three statute English miles and about three hundred yards. One is at least reminded of Ragueneau's statement. But to avoid a dangerous pyramiding of hypotheses let us avoid counting at this point upon a finality of identification of St. Louis. Its identification is wrapped up in part with the situation of St. Ignace II.

As for the distance between St. Louis and St. Ignace there is no dearth of references. Ragueneau writes: "about a league." Garnier in two letters written two days apart in April, 1649, says: "a league", and "a league or thereabouts." Bressani describes the distance as "not more than three miles." Regnaut, an uneducated but devoted lay brother writing in France nearly thirty years later, says St. Ignace was "about a short quarter of a league" from his hut in St. Louis. It is generally agreed that this is an error due to untrained powers of observation and to a memory dimmed by time and by long distance from the actual scene. The rejection of this statement leaves virtual agrement amongst the other statements.

Again, what is a league? the new investigators asked themselves. Again they applied the method of blocking off an area in which

they not only allowed for the wide range of distances involved in the eight different French leagues but also made generous allowance in every direction beyond these figures in case they had made a mistake in identifying St. Louis. They bore in mind that early in 1648 the inhabitants of St. Ignace I moved, in order that they might be better able to defend themselves, to a new site closer to the more populous centres of the mission, that is, closer to Ste. Marie. The investigators made their allowances sufficiently broad to be sure that this St. Ignace II would be included within the area under examination. This area they scrutinized for several years. At length they concluded that the site on the Hamilton farm was the only one corresponding to all the known conditions of St. Ignace. By measurement this was three miles and about one hundred yards from the place they had estimated to be St. Louis. This is another reminder of Ragueneau's statement. This finding at last induced the skeptical Wintemberg that it was at least worth while exploring the supposed site of St. Ignace II. What he discovered we know; we know also his final conviction that the place was actually St. Ignace, the scene of the martyrdom. He was prepared to find a fortress built according to Brébeuf's instructions first practised by the Indians at Ossossané in 1635 or 1636, that is, a fortress with straight sides and four corner towers. Instead, he found a place that corresponded to the details of Ragueneau's simple, clear description of St. Ignace II. Had it been constructed otherwise, Ragueneau would have so described it. Wintemberg believed the reason for adhering to the typical Huron plan is to be found in a combination of a critical need for great haste and normal Indian inertia to a departure from custom.

There is one other allusion to distance which cannot be ignored though lapse of time and its second-hand origin might debar it, like Regnaut's statement, from being considered as evidence. In an obituary of Brother François Malherbe written in 1696, forty-seven years after the martyrdom, his superior writes that Malherbe had borne the charred remains of Brébeuf and Lalemant from the scene of death to Ste. Marie, "a distance of two leagues." One might suspect that this distance had become a tradition among the Jesuits in Canada. Can it be a mere coincidence that this span is practic-

ally equal to the sum of Ragueneau's two estimates, "not more than a league" and "about a league"? If it is not, one must infer from the words of the obituary on the one hand, and of Ragueneau and others on the other hand, that the path from St. Ignace to St. Marie ran for approximately two leagues through or beside St. Louis, its midway point.

Again, is it a mere coincidence that the sum of Ragueneau's two estimates, approximately two leagues, corresponding, in our modern English system of measurement, so closely to the sum of the two distances measured by Connon and Arpin, three miles and about three hundred yards and three miles and about one hundred yards, and that the natural trail followed by Connon and Arpin led from the Hamilton village site through or beside the Newton village site, the midway point, to Ste. Marie? If it is not, two conclusions may be drawn: the minor one, that Ragueneau's league, whatever its French name, approximated three English statute miles; the major one, that the ancient Huron village on the Hamilton farm discovered by Arpin, explored by Connon, and excavated by the very exacting and conscientious Wintemberg, is none other than the St. Ignace where St. Jean de Brébeuf and St. Gabriel Lalemant sacrificed their lives for the faith that was in them.

W. SHERWOOD FOX

# MISCELLANY

## I

### A Diocesan Chronology of the Catholic Church in the United States

The purpose of this compilation is to provide an accurate list of the dates of the establishment of the archdioceses, dioceses, vicariates apostolic, and prefectures apostolic of the United States. The period treated covers from 1784, the date of the establishment of the prefecture apostolic of Baltimore, to the present day. Documentary sources only have been used; usually these documents are papal briefs, i. e., papal bulls, apostolic letters, or apostolic constitutions. In some cases, particularly in the transferring of sees, documents issued by the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, and by the Consistorial Congregation, have been given.

The dates of the issuance of these papal documents are the dates of the erection of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction concerned. Therefore, no attention is paid to consistorial decrees which merely recommend that a diocese be established, nor to decrees of separation issued by the see being divided or by the metropolitan see. The only definite exception to this rule is found in the case of the Diocese of El Paso which was erected by a decree of the Consistorial Congregation, but this decree was issued at the command of Pope Pius X.

In tracing back sees a distinction must be made between vicariates apostolic which have been advanced to the status of dioceses, and those which have been suppressed simultaneously with the erection of the diocese; e. g., the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Minnesota was suppressed when the Diocese of St. Cloud was established.

The method that has been pursued is as follows. All the ecclesiastical divisions which the United States has had since 1784 are given alphabetically. This list contains all the titles which may have been or are now in use. Under the present day title, or last existing title, the complete information is given. This includes the title of the see, date of establishment, title of document, and source.

The chief sources used in this compilation have been three. For the period from 1784 to 1884, Donald Shearer, O.F.M.Cap., *Pontificia Americana* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1933), supplied most of the necessary documents. Information for the years from 1884 to 1904 was found mainly in *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta* (Rome: 1881-

1904, 23 vols.), while the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Rome) contains most of the documents issued since 1920.

These collections, however, did not contain all of the documents for their period. Also, there were no available printed sources for the years 1904 to 1920. To obtain these documents archival material had to be obtained. This was done largely by correspondence, which gave information based on manuscript sources available in various chancery offices. Besides these a document was received from the Archives of the Propagation of the Faith giving information concerning many of the dioceses established since 1857. The material contained in this document was drawn mainly from *Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di. mons. Segretario* and *Registro dei Brevi.*

Individual documents to fill in gaps were obtained from the *Acta Pontificia* (Rome), *Ecclesiastical Review* (Philadelphia), *Los Cumpleanos de San Agustín* (St. Augustine, 1940), Antoine Rezek, *History of the Diocese of Sault St. Marie and Marquette* (Houghton, Mich., 1906), and the Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

Some of the pertinent documents are missing for the following jurisdictions: dioceses of Corpus Christi and Crookston, vicariate apostolic of Dakota, diocese of Grand Island established first as Kearney, prefecture apostolic of Indian Territory, and the diocese of Spokane. *

* ABBREVIATIONS

In Text

| | |
|---|---|
| AD | Archdiocese |
| D | Diocese |
| PA | Prefecture Apostolic |
| SCC | Sacred Consistorial Congregation |
| SCPF | Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith |
| Sup. | Suppressed |
| Tr. | Transferred |
| VA | Vicariate Apostolic |

In Notes

| | |
|---|---|
| AAS | *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* |
| AL | *Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi Acta* |
| AP | *Acta Pontificia* |
| APF | Archives of the Propagation of the Faith |
| APF, Let. | *Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di mons. Segretario.* |
| APF, RB | *Registro dei Brevi* |
| BCA | Baltimore Cathedral Archives |
| CO | Chancery Office |
| ER | *Ecclesiastical Review* |
| PA | *Pontificia Americana* |

Paul P. Ciangetti.

Alabama, Vicariate Apostolic of Mississippi and: cf. Mississippi-Alabama, Vicariate Apostolic of.

Alabama-Florida, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. MOBILE.

ALBANY: April 23, 1847; Ad supremum Apostolatus.[1]

ALEXANDRIA: established as Natchitoches, July 29, 1853; Quum illud.[2] Tr. August 6, 1910; S.C.C.[3]

Allegheny: January 11, 1876; Quod venerabiles fratres.[4] Sup. July 1, 1889; Ex divisione Pittsburgensis.[5]

Alton: cf. SPRINGFIELD IN ILLINOIS.

ALTOONA: May 27, 1901; Ad supremum Apostolatus.[6]

Atlanta, Diocese of Savannah and: cf. SAVANNAH-ATLANTA.

AMARILLO: August 3, 1926; Pastoris aeterni.[7]

Arizona, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. TUCSON.

BAKER CITY: June 19, 1903; Supremi Apostolatus.[8]

BALTIMORE: PA, June 9, 1784; Ad conservandam.[9] D, November 6, 1789; Ex hac apostolicae.[10] AD, April 8, 1808; Pontifici muneris nobis.[11]

Bardstown, Diocese of: cf. LOUISVILLE.

BELLEVILLE: January 7, 1887; Maius animarum.[12]

BELMONT ABBEY NULLIUS: June 8, 1910; Apostolicam in singulas.[13]

BISMARCK: March 15, 1910; Apostolica omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudo.[14]

BOISE CITY: VA Idaho, March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[15] D, August 25, 1893; Romani Pontifices.[16]

[1] PA, 241.
[2] PA, 282.
[3] CO.
[4] PA, 372.
[5] AL, IX, 139; APF, RB, vol. 7, f. 122rv.
[6] APF, RB, vol. 8, ff. 312-313v. CO.
[7] AAS, XIX, 169.
[8] ER, XXXII, 66.
[9] PA, 58.
[10] PA, 81.
[11] PA, 100.
[12] AL, VII, 10. CO.
[13] ER, XLIII, 691.
[14] CO.
[15] PA, 348.
[16] AL, XIII, 257. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 176v-177.

BOSTON: April 8, 1808; Ex debito pastoralis.[17] AD, Feb. 12, 1875; Quae Dei Ecclesiae.[18]

BROOKLYN: July 29, 1853; De incolumitate.[19]

Brownsville, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. Corpus Christi.

BUFFALO: April 23, 1847; Universi dominici.[20]

BURLINGTON: July 29, 1853; Apostolicae servitutis.[21]

California, Both Californias, the Two Californias, Diocese of: cf. Los ANGELES.

CAMDEN: December 9, 1937; Ad maius animarum.[22]

CHARLESTON: July 11, 1820; Inter multiplices.[23]

CHEYENNE: August 2, 1887; Quae catholico nomini.[24]

CHICAGO: November 28, 1843; In suprema.[25] AD, September 21, 1880; Postquam Venerabilem Fratrem.[26]

CINCINNATI: June 19, 1821; Inter multiplices.[27] AD, July 19, 1850; In Apostolicae Sedis.[28]

CLEVELAND: April 23, 1847; Universalis Ecclesiae.[29]

Colorado-Utah, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. DENVER.

COLUMBUS: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[30]

CONCORDIA: August 2, 1887; Quum ex apostolico munere.[31]

CORPUS CHRISTI: VA Brownsville, September 18, 1874; Cum ven. frater.[32] D, missing.

[17] PA, 98.

[18] PA, 360.

[19] PA, 284.

[20] PA, 239.

[21] PA, 280.

[22] AAS, XXX, 251.

[23] BCA, Letter Files, 22D1[1].

[24] AL, VII, 175. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 95-96.

[25] PA, 221.

[26] PA, 379.

[27] PA, 110.

[28] PA, 258.

[29] PA, 242.

[30] PA, 343.

[31] AL, VII, 178.

[32] PA, 359. John F. Basso, chancellor, wrote on March 5, 1941: "I have searched for the original documents; but to no avail.... However, I just this

COVINGTON: July 29, 1853; Apostolici ministerii.[33]

CROOKSTON: [33a]

Dakota, Vicariate Apostolic of: Est., missing. Sup. Nov. 12, 1889; Quae catholico nomini.[34]

DALLAS: July 15, 1890; Romani Pontifices.[35]

morning came across a clipping from *The Southern Messenger*, dated June 12, 1913, which gives the desired information."

> On March 23, 1912, the Holy Father, Pope Pius X, through the Congregation of the Consistory, elevated the Vicariate Apostolic of Brownsville to the Diocese of Corpus Christi, with the city of Corpus Christi as the diocesan seat.
>
> On May 9th last, Very Reverend Francis Racine, V.G., of New Orleans, arrived in Corpus Christi with the Bull from Rome, authorizing the erection of the diocese, and other documents showing that Father Racine was subdelegated by His Grace, the Most Rev. James H. Blenk, to erect it. On that day an act was drawn up showing that the Vicariate of Brownsville had been elevated to the rank of a diocese. The most important items contained in this act were that the execution of the Bull "Apostolica Constitutio" was entrusted to the Most Rev. James H. Blenk, C.M., D.D., who subdelegated Very Rev. Francis Racine to carry out its execution. According to the tenor of the Bull the archives were removed from the city of Laredo, former seat of the Vicariate, to the city of Corpus Christi; St. Patrick's Church was elevated to the dignity of a Cathedral and St. Patrick's rectory to the episcopal residence.

Unfortunately the above does not give the date of the papal document; nor does it give the title of the apostolic constitution which it mistakenly gives as its title. It might seem from the first paragraph that this diocese was directly erected by the Consistorial Congregation as was done in the case of El Paso. But the information given later on shows that a special papal document was issued erecting the diocese.

[33] PA, 286.

[33a] Ralph B. Noesen, chancellor of Crookston, wrote under date of December 13, 1940: "The original document of erection is not in our archives. . . . However, the diocese was erected *March 21, 1910* when it was formally separated from the Diocese of Duluth."

George A. Gallik, chancellor, of the diocese of Duluth, wrote on December 19, 1940: "...in connection with the establishment of the Crookston Diocese, the information I have on that is that the Diocese of Crookston was erected March 21, 1910, and Most Rev. Timothy Corbett received notification of being selected bishop of the new diocese on April 9, 1910. He was consecrated Bishop in St. Paul, Minnesota, on May 19, 1910." In a second letter of February 14, 1941, Father Gallik wrote: "The information I sent you before regarding the diocese of Crookston was obtained from a private chronicle that one of the earlier priests brought out. Since he does not give his sources, I am also unable to tell where his information came from."

[34] AL, IX, 249. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 128v-129.

[35] CO.

DAVENPORT: June 14, 1881; Quod e re catholica.[36]

DENVER: VA Colorado-Utah, March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[37] D, August 16, 1887; Quae catholico nomini.[38] AD, November 15, 1941.

DES MOINES: August 12, 1911; Romani Pontifices.[39]

DETROIT: March 8, 1833; Maximas inter gravissimasque.[40] AD, May 22, 1937; Ad aeternam.[41]

DUBUQUE: July 28, 1837; Universi dominici.[42] AD, June 15, 1893; Romani Pontifices.[43]

DULUTH: October 3, 1889; Ex debito supremi.[44]

East Florida, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. ST. AUGUSTINE.

EL PASO: March 3, 1914; S.C.C.[45]

ERIE: July 29, 1853; Ex apostolici muneris.[46]

FALL RIVER: March 12, 1904; Superni Apostolatus.[47]

FARGO: established as Jamestown, November 12, 1889; Quae catholico nomini.[48] Tr. April 6, 1897; Quum ex Apostolico munere.[49]

Florida, Vicariate Apostolic of Alabama and: cf. MOBILE.

Florida, Vicariate Apostolic of East: cf. ST. AUGUSTINE.

Floridas, Diocese of Louisiana and the Two: cf. NEW ORLEANS.

FORT WAYNE: January 8, 1857; Ex debito pastoralis.[50]

Fresno, Diocese of Monterey and: cf. MONTEREY-FRESNO.

GALLUP: December 16, 1939; Ad bonum animarum.[51]

[36] APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 7-8.

[37] PA, 336.

[38] AL, VII, 183. APF, RB, vol. 7, f. 96rv.

[39] CO (English copy of document).

[40] PA, 177. A brief of March 20, 1827, Inter multiplices, was originally issued, but this document never left Rome.

[41] AAS, XXIX, 391.

[42] PA, 198.

[43] AL, XIII, 177. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 172v-173v.

[44] AL, IX, 208. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 126v-128.

[45] CO. This decree was issued by order of Pope Pius X.

[46] PA, 278.

[47] AP, IV, 37.

[48] AL, IX, 249. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 128v-129.

[49] AL, XVII, 77. CO.

[50] PA, 311.

[51] AAS, XXXII, 176.

GALVESTON: Texas PA, October 24, 1839; S.C.P.F.[52] Texas VA, July 16, 1841; Universi dominici gregis.[53] D, May 4, 1847; In Apostolicae Sedis fastigio.[54]

GRAND ISLAND: established as Kearney, missing. Tr. April 11, 1917; S.C.C.[55]

GRAND RAPIDS: May 19, 1882; Nobis Aeterni Pastoris.[56]

Grass Valley, Diocese of: cf. SACRAMENTO.

GREAT FALLS: May 18, 1904; Universalis Ecclesiae.[57]

GREEN BAY: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[58]

HARRISBURG: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[59]

HARTFORD: November 28, 1843; In suprema.[60]

HELENA: Montana VA (part of state), March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[61] Montana VA (whole state), April 17, 1883.[62] D, April 7, 1884; Personam Beatissimi Petri.[63]

Idaho, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. BOISE.

Indian Territory, Prefecture Apostolic of: cf. OKLAHOMA CITY-TULSA.

Indian Territory, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. LEAVENWORTH, also OKLAHOMA CITY-TULSA.

INDIANAPOLIS: established as Vincennes May 6, 1834; Maximas inter gravissimasque.[64] Tr. March 28, 1898; Ecclesiarum omnium.[65]

Jamestown, Diocese of: cf. FARGO.

Kansas, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. LEAVENWORTH.

Kansas City, Kansas, Diocese of: cf. LEAVENWORTH.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.: September 10, 1880; Catholicae rei provehendae.[66]

[52] APF. However, this erection was not canonical.

[53] PA, 215. APF, RB, vol. 5, ff. 37-38.

[54] APF, RB, vol. 5, f. 232v.

[55] AAS, IX, par la, 230.

[56] PA, 381.

[57] AP, IV, 43.

[58] PA, 338.

[59] PA, 345.

[60] PA, 219.

[61] APF, RB, vol. 6, ff. 148-149.

[62] CO, records of Bishop Brondel.

[63] PA, 386. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 44v-46. AL, IV, 29.

[64] PA, 183.

[65] AL, XVIII, 32.

[66] APF, RB, vol. 6, ff. 355-356v. CO.

Kearney, Diocese of: cf. GRAND ISLAND.

LA CROSSE: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[67]

LAFAYETTE: January 11, 1918; A multis jam annis.[68]

LANSING: May 22, 1937; Ecclesiarum in orbe.[69]

Lead, Diocese of: cf. RAPID CITY.

LEAVENWORTH: Indian Territory VA (Kansas, Rocky Mountains), July 19, 1850; Postulat apostolici muneris.[70] D, May 22, 1877; Expositum est nobis.[71] Tr. Kansas City, Kansas, May 29, 1891; Quae rei sacrae.[72] Tr. Leavenworth, March 4, 1897; S.C.P.F.[73]

LINCOLN: August 2, 1887; Quae catholico nomini.[74]

LITTLE ROCK: November 28, 1843; In suprema.[75]

LOS ANGELES: established as Diocese of California April 27, 1840; Apostolicam solicitudinem.[76] It was also known as the Two Californias, Both Californias, San Diego, and Monterey. The title was changed to Monterey, but no decree can be found authorizing the change.[77] Title changed to Monterey-Los Angeles July 9, 1859; S.C.P.F.[78] Los Angeles-San Diego, June 1, 1922; Romani Pontifices.[79] Los Angeles AD, July 11, 1936; Nimis amplas.[80]

Los Angeles-San Diego, Diocese of: cf. LOS ANGELES.

Louisiana and the Two Floridas, Diocese of: cf. NEW ORLEANS.

LOUISVILLE: established as Bardstown April 8, 1808; Ex debito pastoralis.[81]

[67] PA, 342.

[68] CO.

[69] AAS, XXIX, 389.

[70] PA, 265.

[71] PA, 374.

[72] AL, XI, 155. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 153v-154. CO.

[73] CO. This document states that in 1891 permission was given only to change the Bishop's place of residence and not to change the title of the See.

[74] AL, VII, 175. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 95-96.

[75] PA, 223.

[76] PA, 208.

[77] APF.

[78] APF, Let., vol. 350, f. 480.

[79] AAS, XIV, 539.

[80] AAS, XXVIII, 488.

[81] PA, 98.

Tr. Feb. 13, 1841; S.C.P.F.[82] AD, Dec. 10, 1937; Quo christifidelium regimen.[83]

MANCHESTER: April 15, 1884; Quod erat in votis.[84]

MARQUETTE: Upper Michigan VA, July 29, 1853; Postulat apostolicum officium.[85] D, Sault Ste. Marie January 9, 1857; Supremi apostolatus.[86] Title changed to Sault St. Marie-Marquette October 23, 1865; S.C.P.F.[87] Title changed to Marquette January 3, 1937; S.C.C.[88]

Marysville, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. SACRAMENTO.

Michigan, Vicariate Apostolic of Upper: cf. MARQUETTE.

MILWAUKEE: November 28, 1843; In suprema.[89] AD, February 12, 1875; Quae nos sacri.[90]

Minnesota, Vicariate Apostolic of Northern: cf. Northern Minnesota, Vicariate Apostolic of.

Mississippi, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. NATCHEZ.

Mississippi-Alabama, Vicariate Apostolic of: August 13, 1822; Cum nos hodie.[91] Two Floridas added January 21, 1823; Inter multiplices.[92] Sup. July. 14, 1823; Cum superiori anno.[93]

MOBILE: Alabama-Florida VA, August 26, 1825.[94] D, May 15, 1829; Inter multiplices.[95]

Montana, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. HELENA.

Monterey, Diocese of: cf. Los ANGELES.

MONTEREY-FRESNO: June 1, 1922; Romani Pontifices.[96]

Monterey-Los Angeles, Diocese of: cf. Los ANGELES.

[82] APF, Let., vol. 325, f. 154v.

[83] AAS, XXX, 260.

[84] PA, 388.

[85] PA, 290.

[86] PA, 313.

[87] *History of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie and Marquette*, vol. I, 190.

[88] CO.

[89] PA, 220.

[90] PA, 364.

[91] PA, 125.

[92] PA, 133.

[93] PA, 136.

[94] Quoted in document establishing the diocese.

[95] PA, 167.

[96] AAS, XIV, 539.

NASHVILLE: July 28, 1837; Universi dominici.[97]

NATCHEZ: Mississippi VA, August 19, 1825; Cum. ven. frater.[98] D, July 28, 1837; Universi dominici.[99]

Natchitoches, Diocese of: cf. ALEXANDRIA.

Nebraska, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. OMAHA.

Nesqually, Diocese of: cf. SEATTLE.

NEWARK: July 29, 1853; Apostolici ministerii.[100] AD, December 10, 1937; Quo utilius.[101]

New Mexico, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. SANTA FE.

NEW ORLEANS: est. as Diocese of Louisiana and the Two Floridas April 25, 1793; Cum Eximius Eques.[102] Title changed to New Orleans July 18, 1826; Inter multiplices.[103] AD, July 19, 1850; Ad Supremum Apostolicae Sedis.[104]

NEW YORK: April 8, 1808; Ex debito pastoralis.[105] AD, July 19, 1850; Universi dominici.[106]

North Carolina, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. RALEIGH.

Northern Minnesota, Vicariate Apostolic of: February 12, 1875; Venerabiles fratres.[107] Sup. October 3, 1889; Ex debito supremi.[108]

OGDENSBURG: February 16, 1872; Quod catholico nomini.[109]

Oklahoma, Diocese of: cf. OKLAHOMA CITY-TULSA.

OKLAHOMA CITY-TULSA: PA, 1876[109a], exact date and title missing. Indian Territory VA, May 29, 1891; Romani Pontifices.[110] D, Okla-

[97] PA, 200.

[98] PA, 143.

[99] PA, 197.

[100] PA, 283.

[101] AAS, XXX, 258.

[102] BCA, Letter Book, vol. II, 29.

[103] PA, 145.

[104] PA, 256.

[105] PA, 98.

[106] PA, 259.

[107] PA, 361.

[108] AL, IX, 208. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 126v-128.

[109] PA, 354.

[109a] Quoted in document establishing the vicariate.

[110] AL, XI, 158. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 152-153.

homa, August 17, 1905; In hac sublimi.[111] Title changed to Oklahoma City-Tulsa November 14, 1930; Quae ad maius.[112]

OMAHA: Nebraska VA, January 9, 1857; Quae rei sacrae procurationi.[113] D, October 2, 1885; A Venerabilibus Fratribus.[114]

Oregon, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. PORTLAND IN OREGON.

Oregon City, Archdiocese of: cf. PORTLAND IN OREGON.

OWENSBORO: December 9, 1937; Universi catholici orbis.[115]

PATERSON: December 9, 1937; Recta cuiusvis.[116]

PEORIA: February 12, 1875; Quod venerabiles fratres.[117]

PHILADELPHIA: April 8, 1808; Ex debito pastoralis.[118] AD, February 12, 1875; Quod antea.[119]

PITTSBURGH: August 11, 1843; Universi dominici.[120]

PORTLAND, Maine: July 29, 1853; Apostolicae servitutis.[121]

PORTLAND IN OREGON: Oregon VA, December 1, 1843; Pastorale officium.[122] Oregon City AD, July 24, 1846; Universi dominici.[123] Tr. September 26, 1928; Ecclesiarum omnium.[124]

PROVIDENCE: February 16, 1872; Quod catholico nomini.[125]

Pueblo: November 15, 1941.

Quincy, Diocese of: cf. SPRINGFIELD IN ILLINOIS.

RALEIGH: North Carolina VA, March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[126] D, December 12, 1924; Omnium Ecclesiarum sollicitudo.[127]

[111] AP, V, 257.
[112] CO.
[113] APF, RB, vol. 6, f. 38rv.
[114] AL, V, 114. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 61v-62.
[115] AAS, XXX, 256.
[116] AAS, XXX, 253.
[117] PA, 366.
[118] PA, 98.
[119] PA, 363.
[120] PA, 217.
[121] PA, 277.
[122] PA, 225.
[123] PA, 235. It was never simply a diocese.
[124] AAS, XXI, 649.
[125] PA, 356.
[126] PA, 344.
[127] AAS, XVII, 171.

RAPID CITY: established as Lead, August 4, 1902; Quae rei sacrae.[128] Tr. August 1, 1930; Apostolici Litteris.[129]

RENO: March 27, 1931; Pastoris aeterni vices.[130]

RICHMOND: July 11, 1820; Inter multiplices.[131] Under administration of Baltimore, February 22, 1822; Cum per translationem.[132] Restored to its own administration, December 15, 1840; Apostolatus officium.[133]

ROCHESTER: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[134]

ROCKFORD: September 27, 1908; Quae rei sacrae.[135]

Rocky Mountains, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. LEAVENWORTH.

SACRAMENTO: Marysville VA, September 27, 1860; Apostolici nostri muneris.[136] Diocese of Grass Valley, March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[137] Tr. May 16, 1886; S.C.P.F.[138]

SAGINAW: February 26, 1938; Ad animarum bonum.[139]

ST. AUGUSTINE: East Florida VA, January 9, 1857; Supplicatum Nobis est.[140] D, March 11, 1870; Quae catholico nomini.[141]

ST. CLOUD: October 3, 1889; Ex debito supremi.[142]

ST. JOSEPH: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[143]

ST. LOUIS: July 18, 1826; Inter multiplices.[144] AD, July 20, 1847; Apostolici muneris.[145]

ST. PAUL: July 19, 1850; Ex debito apostolici.[146] AD, May 4, 1888; Papal Rescript, Leo XIII to Archbishop John Ireland.[147]

[128] AL, XXII, 167. APF, RB, vol. 9, ff. 14-16.
[129] AAS, XXIII, 113.
[130] AAS, XXIII, 366.
[131] BCA, Letter Book, vol. II, 27.
[132] BCA, Letter Book, vol. II, 33.
[133] Wheeling Diocesan Archives.
[134] PA, 341.
[135] ER, XL, 453.
[136] PA, 320.
[137] PA, 340.
[138] APF, Let., vol. 382, f. 336.
[139] AAS, XXX, 327.
[140] BCA, Letter Book, vol. II, 38. APF, RB, vol. VI, f. 39.
[141] *Los Cumpleanos de San Agustín*, 26.
[142] AL, IX, 208. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 126v-128.
[143] PA, 335.
[144] PA, 145.
[145] PA, 250.
[146] PA, 262.
[147] CO.

SALT LAKE CITY: Utah VA, January 23, 1887.[148] D, January 27, 1891; Catholicae Ecclesiae.[149]

SAN ANTONIO: August 28, 1874; Arcano divinae.[150] AD, August 3, 1926; Pastoris Aeterni.[151]

SAN DIEGO: July 11, 1936; Ad spirituale Christianae: cf. Los ANGELES.[152]

San Diego, Diocese of Los Angeles and: cf. Los ANGELES.

SAN FRANCISCO: AD, July 29, 1853; Ad animarum regimen.[153]

SANTA FE: New Mexico VA, July 29, 1850.[154] D, July 29, 1853; Universi dominici.[155] AD, February 12, 1875; Quae nos sacri.[156]

Sault Ste. Marie, Diocese of: cf. MARQUETTE.

Sault Ste. Marie-Marquette, Diocese of: cf. MARQUETTE.

Savannah, Diocese of: cf. SAVANNAH-ATLANTA.

SAVANNAH-ATLANTA: established as Savannah July 19, 1850; Exigit pastorale munus.[157] Title changed January 5, 1937; S.C.C.[158]

SCRANTON: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[159]

SEATTLE: established as Nesqually May 31, 1850; Cum in Catholicae.[160] Tr. September 11, 1907; Quae rei sacrae procurationi.[161]

SIOUX CITY: January 15, 1902; Quae catholico nomini.[162]

SIOUX FALLS: November 12, 1889; Quae catholico nomini.[163]

SPOKANE: missing.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.: June 14, 1870; Ex commissi nobis.[164]

SPRINGFIELD IN ILLINOIS: established as Quincy July 29, 1853; In

[148] APF, RB, vol. 7, f. 81. The title is not given.

[149] AL, XI, 17. ABF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 148v-149.

[150] PA, 357.

[151] AAS, XIX, 170.

[152] AAS, XXVIII, 485.

[153] PA, 289. It was not previously established as a diocese.

[154] Quoted in the document establishing the see.

[155] PA, 287.

[156] PA, 364.

[157] PA, 264.

[158] CO.

[159] PA, 337.

[160] PA, 254.

[161] CO.

[162] ER, XXX, 615.

[163] AL, IX, 249. APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 128v-129.

[164] PA, 351.

suprema.[165] Tr. Alton January 9, 1857; Jam alias Nos.[166] Title changed to Springfield in Illinois October 26, 1923; S.C.C.[167]

SUPERIOR: May 3, 1905; Ex debito pastoralis.[168]

SYRACUSE: November 22, 1886; S.C.P.F.[169]

Texas, Prefecture and Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. GALVESTON.

TOLEDO: May 12, 1910; Pastoralem.[170]

TRENTON: August 11, 1881; Religionis incrementum.[171]

TUCSON: Arizona, September 25, 1868.[172] D, May 8, 1897; Quae catholico nomini.[173]

Tulsa, Diocese of Oklahoma City and: cf. OKLAHOMA CITY-TULSA.

Two Californias, Diocese of: cf. LOS ANGELES.

Two Floridas, Diocese of Louisana and the: cf. NEW ORLEANS.

Upper Michigan, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. MARQUETTE.

Utah, Vicariate Apostolic of: cf. SALT LAKE CITY.

Vincennes, Diocese of: cf. INDIANAPOLIS.

Walla Walla: July 24, 1846; In Apostolicae Sedis.[174] Sup. July 29, 1853; Per similes nostras.[175]

WASHINGTON: AD, July 22, 1939; Supremae ecclesiasticae.[176]

WHEELING: July 19, 1850; Ad Apostolicam Sedem.[177]

WICHITA: August 2, 1887; Quum ex Apostolico munere.[178]

WILMINGTON: March 3, 1868; Summi apostolatus.[179]

WINONA: November 26, 1889; Ex debito pastoralis.[180]

[165] PA, 275.

[166] APF, RB, vol. 6, f. 37v.

[167] AAS, XV, 587.

[168] CO.

[169] APF, Let., a. 1886, vol. 382, f. 669. It is not definite that this was the final document of erection.

[170] CO.

[171] APF, RB, vol. 7, ff. 9v-10v.

[172] PA, 353.

[173] AL, XVII, 122. APF, RB, vol. 8, ff. 1-3.

[174] PA, 237.

[175] PA, 291.

[176] AAS, XXXI, 668. It was not previously established as a diocese.

[177] PA, 263.

[178] AL, VII, 178.

[179] PA, 347.

[180] CO.

II

## THE TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

STEVENS HOTEL, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 29-31, 1941

The twenty-second annual meeting of the Association was held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, December 29-31, 1941. In general the sessions were very well attended, with points as far distant as New Orleans, Boston, New York, and San Antonio sending representatives.

The meeting was conducted under the auspices of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Samuel A. Stritch, Archbishop of Chicago, who gave an inspiring talk at the final luncheon conference on Wednesday, December 31. The Bureau of Registration and Information was in charge of Miss Kathryn D. Harrold of the Executive Office of the Association, who was assisted each day by two students from the local Catholic colleges for women. Upwards of two hundred registrations were received during the three-day meeting.

The regular meeting of the Executive Council convened at nine o'clock on the first morning, Monday, December 29. To that body was read the following letter of Monsignor Guilday, Secretary of the Association:

TO THE OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL:

Twenty-two years ago, on December 30, 1919, in response to an invitation which I sent out to prominent Catholic writers in the field of history, some sixty priests, nuns, and members of the laity met at Cleveland, Ohio and founded the American Catholic Historical Association.

The main purpose of the Association has been to create and to sustain a nation-wide interest in Catholic Church history. We have brought the message of this high ideal to many Catholic centers here and in Canada. Adhering to our original policy, we have elected each year a prominent Catholic layman as President of the Association. Those who have participated in our annual sessions have represented every phase of American Catholic culture. Our programs have frequently been honored by leading non-Catholic historians. We have been given the wholehearted and generous support of the American hierarchy. A striking item in our success is the fact that we have won the esteem of hundreds of historical scholars who are not of our faith. Despite ordinary and extraordinary expenses, we are financially sound. The *Catholic Historical Review*, the official organ of the Association, is accepted by scholars as one of the foremost quarterlies in the country.

All this has been accomplished through the co-operation of our members with our officers and councilors during these twenty-two years. No one in the Association realizes the value of this co-operation better than I do. Regretfully, my health during the past two years has not permitted me to direct our work as I wished. At the end of this first epoch in our

history, I send you this communication to acknowledge my personal gratitude to the Acting Secretary, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, who has borne the burden of the Executive Office since our last meeting, thus relieving me of responsibility and permitting me to devote all my leisure time to the *Life and Times of John Hughes* on which I am now engaged. You will be glad to know that the University Administration has lessened considerably my teaching duties in order to give me more time for my historical work. I bespeak for Dr. Ellis your support in his duties as Secretary of the Association.

Wishing you a very happy Christmas, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

DECEMBER 19, 1941. PETER GUILDAY

In recognition of Professor Guilday's communication the Executive Council appointed a committee which drew up the following resolution, which was passed unanimously by the Council and read by President Baldwin at the annual business meeting on Tuesday, December 30:

Whereas, Monsignor Peter Guilday, Founder and Secretary of the American Catholic Historical Association has asked, for reasons of health and the pursuance of his historical researches, to be relieved of active duties in the Association,

And whereas, the Association desires to recognize in a permanent manner the tireless and inspiring leadership of Monsignor Guilday as its founder and guide for twenty-two years,

Be it hereby resolved: That in addition to his title of Founder of the American Catholic Historical Association, which is his in fact, he be recognized with the title of Honorary President of the Association and that he hold this title for life.

In tribute to Monsignor Guilday's long and devoted service to the Association this resolution was accepted by a rising vote of the assembled members at the business session.

The following amendments to the Constitution of the Association were passed unanimously in the Executive Council meeting on December 29 and received unanimous approval at the business meeting on December 30:

1. Resolved that Section 4 of the Constitution be amended to read: The officers of this Association shall be: a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. These officers shall be selected by ballot at the regular annual meeting of the Association.
2. Resolved that Amendment 2 of the Constitution, creating the office of Assistant Secretary, be repealed.
3. Resolved that Section 5 of the Constitution be amended to read: There shall be constituted an Executive Council consisting of the five officers mentioned in Section 4 as amended, the former Presidents of the

Association, and six other members. These six members are to be elected two each year to serve three years. At the discretion of the Executive Council a maximum of two more members may be elected to serve one year.

The first public session convened at ten o'clock in the Boulevard Room. The chairman of the session was the Reverend Harry C. Koenig, professor of church history in St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein. Three papers were read at this meeting. The Reverend Victor Gellhaus, O.S.B., professor of history in St. Benedict's College, spoke on "The Crusading Spirit during the Last Moslem Offensive in the West, 1645-1699." Sister Mary Evangela, B.V.M., professor of history in Clarke College, read a paper on "The Work of Bishop Spalding on the Anthracite Coal Commission, 1902-1903," and Professor Francis A. Arlinghaus of the University of Detroit concluded the session with a paper entitled, "The *Kulturkampf* and European Diplomacy, 1870-1875." The time between the first public session on Monday morning and the first luncheon conference on Tuesday was left open to enable the members to attend the sessions of the thirteen other historical societies meeting concurrently. On Tuesday, December 30, the Association had as the chairman of its luncheon conference the Very Reverend Michael J. O'Connell, C.M., President of DePaul University. Father O'Connell introduced the only speaker at this meeting, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low Professor of History in Columbia University. Professor Hayes read a brilliant paper on the subject, "The Church and Nationalism—a Plea for Further Study of a Major Issue," which is printed elsewhere in this issue of the *Review*.

At four o'clock the members assembled again for the annual business meeting. President Baldwin was in the chair, and after action was taken on the resolution concerning Monsignor Guilday and the proposed amendments to the Constitution mentioned above, the following reports were submitted to the members:

1. Report of the Treasurer:

Financial Statement from December 1, 1940 to December 15, 1941

Account I. General Fund

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Investments—December 1, 1940 | | $5,500.00 |
| Cash on Hand—December 1, 1940 | $1,184.14 | |
| Receipts: | | |
| Annual Dues | 2,895.00 | |
| Life Membership | 100.00 | |
| Contribution to Meeting Expense | 502.00 | |
| Creative Membership | 3.00 | |
| Interest from Investments | 165.00 | |
| | $4,849.14 | $5,500.00 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| DISBURSEMENTS: | | | |
| Office Expense: | | | |
| Rent of office and telephone service .... | $ 37.00 | | |
| Supplies and service ..... | 217.10 | | |
| Secretary—Salary—Miss J. Lyon ..... | 843.75 | | |
| Secretary—Salary—Miss K. Harrold ... | 200.00 | | |
| Bookkeeper ..... | 120.00 | | |
| | 1,417.85 | | |
| Meeting expenses 1940 ..... | 304.80 | | |
| Advance meeting expenses 1941 (Chicago) | 57.00 | | |
| *Catholic Historical Review* ..... | 826.80 | | |
| Donation to Catholic Biblical Association of America ..... | 5.00 | | |
| Rent of safety deposit box ..... | 6.00 | | |
| Bad check ..... | 5.00 | | |
| | | 2,622.45 | |
| CASH ON HAND—December 15, 1941 ..... | | $2,226.69 | |
| INVESTMENTS—December 15, 1914 .—..... | | | $5,500.00 |

ACCOUNT II. REVOLVING ACCOUNT

PUBLICATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CASH ON HAND—December 1, 1940 ..... | | | $397.30 |
| RECEIPTS: | | | |
| United States Ministers to the Papal States ..... | $ 12.36 | | |
| *Catholic Historical Review* ..... | 2.00 | | |
| | | 14.36 | |
| CASH ON HAND DECEMBER 15, 1941 ..... | | | $411.66 |

SUMMARY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| INVESTMENTS: | | |
| ACCOUNT I ..... | | $5,500.00 |
| CASH ON HAND: | | |
| ACCOUNT I ..... | $2,226.69 | |
| ACCOUNT II ..... | 411.66 | |
| TOTAL CASH BALANCE ..... | $2,638.35 | |
| GRAND TOTAL ..... | | $8,138.35 |

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer.*

2. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS:

There is but one matter of unfinished business before your committee, viz., the second volume of the Association's *Documents* which has been in course of publication for several years.

This volume, as will be remembered from previous reports, is to contain the Instructions and Despatches of the United States Consuls to the Papal States, 1796-1870. As before reported, all this material has been copied. It remains to be collated, edited, and printed. All former efforts to secure funds to complete the work were without success.

Without wishing to express too much confidence in the matter (for in these days cultural projects receive too little consideration), your committee does have more hope of securing, in 1942, the necessary financial aid for collating and printing the volume. I shall be greatly disappointed if at the next meeting of the Association I shall not be able to report some definite progress toward the publication of this important record which, with the volume devoted to the *United States Ministers to the Papal States*, will complete a diplomatic study both important and timely. All that can be said at this time is that some encouraging prospects have appeared in recent weeks.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO F. STOCK, *Chairman*

3. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Total membership on December 15, 1940 ..... | | 690 |
| Members delinquent for two years ..... | 26 | |
| Resignations during 1941 ..... | 5 | |
| Losses by death during 1941 ..... | 10 | |
| | — | 41 |
| Total ..... | | 649 |
| New members during 1941: | | |
| a) Life member ..... | | 1 |
| b) Annual members ..... | | 95 |
| Total membership (December 15, 1941) ..... | | 745 |

The report of the Committee on Membership gave encouragement since it indicated that the Association had not only held its own during the year just concluded but was able to show an increase. Further comment on this point is found in the report of the Acting Secretary. The Executive Council proposed, and the business meeting unanimously approved, the conferring of a life membership in the Association on

the Reverend John K. Cartwright in token of appreciation for his generous gift of $100 towards the expenses of the Chicago meeting.

The new LIFE MEMBER is the Reverend Fintan G. Walker, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Terre Haute, Indiana.

The new ANNUAL MEMBERS are: Brother Alphonsus of Mary, F.S.C., Manhattan College, New York City; Sister Mary Ambrose, B.V.M., Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa; Sister Mary Angela, Josephinum High School, Chicago, Illinois; Sister M. Thomas Aquinas, Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Reverend John F. Bannon, S.J., Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, Missouri; Reverend Henry G. J. Beck, Immaculate Conception Seminary, Darlington, New Jersey; Sister M. St. Bede, 1714 Ritner Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Most Reverend Gerald T. Bergan, 2000 Grand Avenue, Des Moines, Iowa; Miss Sarah M. Burns, 7050 Eggleston Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Reverend Patrick N. Butler, O. Praem., St. Norbert College, West DePere, Wisconsin; Most Reverend Christopher E. Byrne, Broadway and 14th Street, Galveston, Texas; Reverend John P. Cahir, 410 Sagamore Road, Brookline, Pennsylvania; Dr. Manoel S. Cardoza, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Most Reverend James E. Cassidy, 394 Highland Avenue, Fall River, Massachusetts; Reverend Arthur A. Colkin, S.J., Saint Mary's College, Saint Mary's, Kansas; Reverend Francis O. Corcoran, S.J., Weston College, Weston, Massachusetts; Reverend Thomas J. Darby, 23 South High Street, Mt. Vernon, New York; Reverend Paschal DeCanio, O.F.M., St. Anthony Seminary, Catskill, New York; Reverend James P. Dowling, Our Lady of Lourdes Rectory, Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts; Reverend Gustave Dumas, S.J., Fordham University, New York City; Professor James M. Eagan, College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, New York; Sister Saint Egbert, Notre Dame College of Staten Island, Staten Island, New York; Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi, 803 Beaumont Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland; Sister Mary Evangela, B.V.M., Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa; Sister M. Catharine Frances, Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Reverend E. Geraghty, P.O. 1405, Jamestown, North Dakota; Reverend James P. Gibbons, C.S.C., St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas; Miss Mary Bell Glennan, 7477 North Shore Road, Norfolk, Virginia; Reverend John P. Graf, S.V.D., Librarian, St. Mary's Mission House, Techny, Illinois; Most Reverend William A. Griffin, 901 West State Street, Trenton, New Jersey; Most Reverend William R. Griffin, 11th and Market Streets, La Crosse, Wisconsin; Miss Dora J. Gunderson, Marygrove College, Detroit, Michigan; Reverend Edward Hagemann, S.J., Alma College, Alma, California; Reverend Francis Hanus, Station W, Box 49, New York

City; Reverend Martin J. Higgins, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Emmett J. Holland, 2639 S. Ridgeway Avenue, Chicago, Illinois; Miss Mary Holleran, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Connecticut; Sister Mary James, Saint Clare College Library, St. Francis, Wisconsin; Sister M. Josepha, S.S.N.D., Our Lady of Lourdes High School, Marinette, Wisconsin; Reverend James P. Kehoe, C.S.C., University of Portland, Portland, Oregon; Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, Bishop's House, Providence, Rhode Island; Professor Tibor Kerekes, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Ermin E. Klaus, O.F.M., Siena College, Loudonville, New York; Brother Elmer C. Lackner, S.M., University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio; Professor Kenneth Scott Latourette, 409 Prospect Street, New Haven, Connecticut; Sister M. Laurentia, 29th and Allegheny Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Sister Marie Leonore, College of Mt. St. Vincent, Mt. St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York; Sister M. Frederic Lochemes, St. Clare College, St. Francis, Wisconsin; Sister M. Loyola, O.P., Barry College, Miami Shores, Florida; Sister Blanche Marie, College of St. Elizabeth, Convent Station, New Jersey; Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana; Reverend Paul J. McCann, St. Joseph's Rectory, Red Wing, Minnesota; Reverend Michael B. McCloskey, O.F.M., Siena College, Loudonville, New York; Reverend Bernard J. McCoy, C.M., Los Angeles College, Los Angeles, California; Miss Mary Camper McGinnis, 434 Seventy-Fourth Street, Brooklyn, New York; Most Reverend Eugene J. McGuinness, 15 North McDowell Street, Raleigh, North Carolina; Reverend Robert T. McNamara, 2260 Lake Avenue, Rochester, New York; Sister Regina Mercedes, College of Mt. St. Vincent, Mt. St. Vincent-on-Hudson, New York; Most Reverend Sidney M. Metzger, Santa Fe, New Mexico; Reverend Victor E. Mills, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, New York; Reverend Philip S. Moore, C.S.C., University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana; Mr. Paul V. Murray, Libano 185, Mexico, D. F.; Professor Thomas P. Neill, Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Sister M. Noella, Aquinas College, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Reverend Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., 3303 Tenth Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.; Sister M. Grata Powers, S.S.J., 2727 Stinson Boulevard, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Reverend Johannes Quasten, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Bernard E. Ransing, C.S.C., Holy Cross College, Brookland, D. C.; Most Reverend George J. Rehring, Erie Avenue and Shady Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio; Miss Katherine Reinhard, 935 Marquette Street, LaSalle, Illinois; Reverend Joseph N. Richter, M.S.C., Sacred Heart Seminary, Shelby, Ohio; Brother J. Robert, F.S.C., St. Mary's College, Winona, Minnesota; Reverend Vincent Robichaud, S.M., Cherry Meadows, Framingham Centre, Massa-

chusetts; Reverend Alfred C. Rush, C.SS.R., 3112 Seventh Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.; Reverend Leo F. Ruskowski, S.S., St. Charles College, Catonsville, Maryland; Reverend Carleton M. Sage, S.S., 401 Michigan Avenue, N. E., Washington, D. C.; Librarian, St. Andrew-on-Hudson, Poughkeepsie, New York; Mr. Frank Schilling, 20 Warner Avenue, Hempstead, New York; Mrs. Barbara Sessions, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, Washington, D. C.; Sister M. Sevina, 1413 South Layton Boulevard, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Reverend Albert J. Shanley, M.S., La Salette Seminary, Altamont, New York; Miss Anna T. Sheedy, College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, New York; Reverend Patrick W. Skehan, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.; Reverend Henry I. Stark, C.S.P., 415 East 59th Street, New York City; Reverend Hilary Stephan, O.S.B., St. Benedict's Preparatory School, Newark, New Jersey; Mother Kathryn Sullivan, R.S.C.J., Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, New York City; Most Reverend Frank A. Thill, Tenth Street, and Third Avenue, Concordia, Kansas; Mother Helen Tichenor, Barat College of the Sacred Heart, Lake Forest, Illinois; Reverend George J. Undreiner, Pontifical College Josephinum, Worthington, Ohio; Ursuline College Library, 2234 Overlook Road, Cleveland, Ohio; Reverend Bernard Vogler, S.M., Marist College, Brookland, D. C.; Professor Clarence C. Walton, 1436 Tolma Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Professor Frank P. Weberg, 711 Wilcox Street, Joliet, Illinois; Reverend Roderick Wheeler, O.F.M., St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, New York; Dr. Walter W. J. Wilkinson, Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

FRANCIS A. MULLIN, *Chairman*

4. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

OFFICERS

*President*—Martin R. P. McGuire, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Catholic University of America.

*First Vice-President*—Richard F. Pattee, Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State.

*Second Vice-President*—Theodore Roemer, O.F.M.Cap., professor of history, St. Lawrence College, Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin.

*Secretary*—John Tracy Ellis, assistant professor of history, Catholic University of America.

*Treasurer*—John K. Cartwright, pastor of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Washington, D. C.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The above named officers with the following elected members:

Herbert C. F. Bell, professor of history, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

Raymond Corrigan, S.J., director of the Department of History, St. Louis University.

James M. Eagan, associate professor of history, College of New Rochelle.

Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., archivist and head of the Department of History, University of Notre Dame.

Thomas J. McMahon, professor of church history, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, New York.

Sister M. Rosalita, I.H.M., professor of history, Marygrove College, Detroit.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J., *Chairman*

By unanimous vote the secretary was empowered to cast a single ballot for these officers and councillors. Following the election of the officers and councillors, the President read the personnel of the Association's three committees, which had been approved at the meeting of the Executive Council on December 29. It was no longer thought necessary to have a special Committee on Membership, since the work of this Committee could be done easily enough by the Executive Office of the Association. It was agreed that the President and Secretary should be *ex officio* members of all committees. The three following committees were named for the year 1942:

*Committee on Publications*:

Leo F. Stock, Research Associate, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Chairman.

Michael J. Ready, General Secretary, National Catholic Welfare Conference.

James B. Walker, O.P., Archivist, Dominican Province of St. Albert.

*Committee on Program*:

Marshall W. Baldwin, assistant professor of history, New York University, Chairman.

Edward A. Doehler, professor of history, Loyola College, Baltimore.

Charles E. Schrader, S.J., director of the Department of History, University of Detroit.

*Committee on Nominations*:

Herbert H. Coulson, professor of history, St. Louis University, Chairman.

Edward V. Cardinal, C.S.V., assistant professor of history, Loyola University, Chicago.

Edward J. McCarthy, O.S.A., instructor in history, Villanova College.

5. Report of the Acting Secretary:

For the first time in over a score of years the annual Secretary's report to the members of this Association at their Christmas week gathering is not being made by Monsignor Guilday. The members of our Association are keenly aware of the debt they owe to Monsignor Guilday for his having founded this group twenty-two years ago and for having conducted in such an able and enthusiastic manner for all these years its tedious and time-absorbing business. The impairment of his eyesight, from which the Monsignor has suffered now for two years, is, I am happy to say, gradually lifting. You will rejoice to hear that his high talents and forceful energy, though badly hampered during the past two years, are presently being geared for the launching of the difficult task of writing up the rich materials already gathered for his biography of Archbishop Hughes of New York. No member of this Association is more alive to the obligation which we all owe to Monsignor Guilday than myself. When, on last February 20, at a special meeting of the Executive Council, I was appointed to take over this work, it was done with something of a feeling of awe at the accomplishments of him whose task I was asked to assume. Through the intervening months I have had the benefit of Monsignor Guilday's counsel and advice, and it is a heritage which I hope to continue to enjoy not only for my personal advantage, but for the continued progress and welfare of the Association which we are all trying to serve.

In writing this first report, I felt I could not do better than to follow the example of the characteristic courtesy of my predecessor in thanking those who through the past year have been of assistance to our work. To His Excellency, the Archbishop of Chicago, we are all grateful, not only for permitting us to meet under his auspices here in Chicago, but for his immediate and kindly response to my invitation to address our closing luncheon meeting. Shortly following last year's meeting in New York, Monsignor Guilday received from His Excellency, the Archbishop of New York, the very generous donation of $500 to cover costs of our annual meeting in his see city. This is

the first opportunity we have had to acquaint our members with this benefaction, and we are happy to do it publicly in recognition of the generosity of Archbishop Spellman to the activity of this Catholic learned society. It is likewise my very agreeable duty to pay our tribute of public thanks to the Reverend John K. Cartwright, Treasurer of the Association since 1933, who, just before I left Washington, handed me his personal check of $100 to help cover the expenses of this present meeting. I wish too, to express our gratitude to Professor Nettels, Chairman of the Program Committee of the American Historical Association, and the officials of that body for the courtesy and consideration experienced in arranging for our joint session.

To all the readers of the papers during these days we owe our thanks, for the success of an annual gathering of this kind is dependent in large measure upon the willingness of members to expend effort and time in the preparation of discussions which will be of value to our audiences. I feel that I express your sentiment when I say that the papers read during these days have enriched our knowledge and stimulated our thought on eight really important topics in the history of the Church. I should like to say a final word of thanks to the chairmen of our sessions who gave of their time to preside during these meetings, to the young ladies from the local colleges who assisted at our Bureau of Registration and Information, and to Mr. Bowman and the staff of the Stevens Hotel for the excellent accommodations placed at our disposal.

In his report for 1940, Monsignor Guilday stated: "Each year at this particular season of our meeting, I have been fortunate in being able to place before our members either a project completed during the year or one about to begin" (*C.H.R.*, Apr. 1941, XXVII, 77). I wish that I might acquaint you with either happy fact, but the most I am able to tell you at this time is that definite steps have been taken by the executive office to secure funds for the publication of the second volume of the Association's *Documents*. While I am not in a position to state that such funds are actually available, I shall not be violating any confidence when I say that we are on the trail of several promising leads which, I am hopeful, may within the ensuing months prove successful. If that should occur, I shall not be guilty of excessive optimism if I say that by this time next year the second volume of our *Documents* on "The Instructions and Despatches of the United States Consuls to the Papal States, 1796-1870" may be in your hands. You will be gratified to learn that the sale of copies of the first volume edited by Leo F. Stock and published in 1933, is by no means dead. We have received a considerable number of orders for the work during

the past year. I know of no other project which would be more immediately useful to a wide class of readers than the publication of these important diplomatic documents dealing with the relations of our government with the Holy See during the nineteenth century.

There is one feature I should like to stress in this report. It is the changed policy of the Editors of the *Catholic Historical Review* regarding materials submitted for publication. This change, adopted unanimously at the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Editors on last February 27, was outlined in the April, 1941 issue of our official organ (pp. 110-111). May I call the attention of our members to that matter again? The change was made in an effort to encourage our membership to submit to the *Review* manuscripts of scholarly contributions which they may have written. The quality of our official journal has been, and in large measure will remain, dependent upon the character and number of manuscripts submitted for the judgment of the editorial board. It is our hope, and I am sure it is yours, to see the *Catholic Historical Review* exercise the utmost influence in Catholic and non-Catholic historical circles. We have it within our power not only to continue the high tone which has marked its nearly thirty years of life, but to improve it. But its improvement and its advancement into the front rank of American historical reviews is a responsibility which rests in good measure on the membership of this Association. True, we welcome contributions from those outside the Association, but frankly we do not very often have the opportunity to pass judgment on such materials, for they are not sent to us, and sometimes contributions sent do not measure up to even the modest standards we attempt to enforce. The Editors of the *Catholic Historical Review* have given a great amount of time and effort to this work for which they receive no compensation. Moreover, each is required to do his full share of teaching, and beyond that, three of them have the extra burdens of administrative positions.

To be quite specific, may I urge our members to submit manuscripts for consideration of the editorial board, manuscripts which embody the fruits of original research and demonstrate a real contribution to our knowledge. Naturally the preference is given to American church history, but any article which is of interest to Catholic history will be heartily welcomed. Secondly, the Editor for Notes and Comments will be happy to receive items of historical news, notes on new publications, and digests of important articles on Catholic history appearing in foreign periodicals. The Book Review Editor too bids for volunteers for that work and for information concerning the fields of specialization of our members which testify to the competence of the member to give a critical analysis of notable books published from time to time. By such whole-hearted co-operation from all our

members in this regard we shall be able to maintain the *Review* at a high level and make its influence felt in non-Catholic historical circles as a publication of significance and importance. May I likewise repeat a statement made in the April, 1941 issue of the *Review,* namely, that all prospective contributors follow the rules drawn up in the Chicago *Manual of Style* in the preparation of their manuscripts.

Finally, I have one bit of really cheerful information to convey to our members in this day of universal gloom and anxiety for all the ancillary institutions of human culture and civilization. It is that the interest of American historical students, teachers, and research workers in the activities of this Association is still very lively. This fact is demonstrated in the increase in our annual membership. During the past year we received one additional life member upon the payment of $100, and ninety-five annual members at the regular fee of $5 per member. This increase raises our total membership to 745 and it enables us to conduct the business of our Association without danger of immediate handicap from the lack of funds for current expenses. I know you will not take it amiss if I remind you that the Association depends almost entirely upon its membership fees to pay its way. If then each member would make himself or herself responsible for bringing in just one new member during the year 1942 it would increase the number of those who actively assist in our work to nearly 1500 persons and it would put into our hands over $3000 additional revenue. In this way we could not only balance the inevitable losses from deaths, resignations, and delinquencies in dues, but we can extend our publications and influence more widely. If this were to happen we could indeed embark upon the publication of such eminently useful projects as, for example, that mentioned by Monsignor Guilday in his report last year, namely, a historiography of American Catholic history.

In closing permit me to extend to you my personal thanks and the gratitude of all the officers of our Association for the interest you have manifested by your presence here, your increased membership during the past year, and the kind expressions of approval which some have been gracious enough to state to a number of the other officers and myself. Without your active and lively participation in our meetings, and your sustained interest throughout the year that follows, our efforts to effect any good for the advancement of Catholic historical scholarship in this country would be futile indeed, but with that co-operation and interest we shall, God willing, be able to show accomplishments that may surprise even ourselves.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Acting Secretary*

At the general session which followed immediately after the business meeting Professor Baldwin read his presidential address, "Western Attitudes toward Islam," which was published in the January issue of the *Review*. The newly elected President of the Association, Martin R. P. McGuire, was in the chair during this session.

On the final morning of the meeting, Wednesday, December 31, the Association held its joint session with the American Historical Association. The new First Vice-President of the Association, Richard F. Pattee, served as chairman and introduced the two speakers. Professor Arthur S. Aiton of the University of Michigan spoke on "Ideas of Church-State Relations in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," while another phase of the subject was handled by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., associate professor of history, Loyola University, Chicago, who spoke on "Co-operation between Church and State in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." The closing luncheon at twelve-thirty on Wednesday had Professor Paul Kiniery of Loyola University, Chicago for its chairman. Professor Kiniery introduced the two speakers, Peter Leo Johnson, professor of church history in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, who spoke on "Early Catholic Church Property in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee," and His Excellency, Archbishop Stritch, who chose as his subject, "Appreciation of Historical Research Studies on the History of the Church in the United States."

Due to conditions created by the war it was impossible for the Secretary to inform the members on the closing day of the place and time of the annual meeting for 1942.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

*Their Name Is Pius. Portraits of Five Great Modern Popes.* By LILLIAN BROWNE—OLF. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xv, 382. $3.00.)

It is a striking fact that seven of the eleven supreme pontiffs who have governed the Church during 167 years since the death of Clement XIV in 1774 have been named Pius. This book presents, as its title and sub-title claim, the portraits of five of them. Dedicated to Pope Pius XII, it traces in an interesting and readable manner the pontificates of Pius VI, Pius VII, Pius IX, Pius X, and Pius XI through the vicissitudes of unusual "political storm and social stress." The pontificate of Pius VIII, which lasted only eight months, is not depicted.

In the first part of the book the author deals with the saddened pontificates of the "Storm-Tossed Pilots": Pius VI, Pius VII, and Pius IX. The second part is taken up with the "Watchers on the Vatican": Pius X and Pius XI. An Epilogue sketches the enormous tasks that confronted Pius XII at the outset of his pontificate.

As the philosophy and political history of the times demand, a considerable portion of the book is concerned with the relations between Church and State. Pius VI, in spite of all his efforts and warnings, saw the fury and horrors of the French Revolution turned against the Church, the papacy, and even against his own person. At an advanced age he was dragged off to die in exile. Pius VII, too, compelled to excommunicate Napoleon for his indignities against the Church and the papacy, was detained for several years as a prisoner in exile. And Pius IX, struggling against the false liberalism of Italian revolutionists, fled for personal safety to Gaeta, and saw the papacy stripped of all its temporal possessions. Physical violence was not done to the persons of Pius X or Pius XI. Pius X, however, was called upon to defend the Church against the encroachments of Gallicanism and Modernism. Pius XI found a solution for the Roman Question in the Lateran Treaty and Concordat of 1929; but at the same time he found it necessary to point out the dangers and errors of state totalitarianism and atheistic Communism. Numerous other interests of the papacy are by no means neglected. The notable doctrinal, disciplinary, liturgical, and missionary achievements of these popes are, for the

most part, given due consideration. They are, of course, too many to enumerate.

There are some statements to which exception might be taken. Erasmus, for example, undoubtedly would feel uncomfortable in the company of "Thomas More and John Fisher of England, Catherine of Siena and Theresa of Avila, Francis de Sales, and innumerable others (who) had devoted their lives to the purification and strengthening of the Mystical Body of Christ" (p. 4); John Carroll was not yet Archbishop of Baltimore in 1803 (p. 91); the see of Spoleto was hardly founded as early as the year 50 (p. 143); Cardinal Schulte was not the Archbishop of Cologne and Munich (p. 310). A more accurate theological sense would not have spoken of the "regenerative power" of the Eucharist (p. 291), and would have detected a discrepancy between the statement that the Blessed Virgin "by her nature was free from the contamination of original sin" (p. 187), and the definition of Pius IX that "through the foreseen merits of her divine Son" and "by a special privilege" God preserved her from every stain of original sin (p. 194).

There are also some confusing typographical errors. Among others, "Pius XII" should be "Pius VII" (p. vii); "Palma" should be "Parma" (p. 56); "diocese of France" should be "Church in France" or "dioceses of France" (p. 109); and "Leo XII" should be "Leo XIII" (p. 239).

Apart from these defects *Their Name Is Pius* is a worthwhile contribution to the rapidly increasing popular literature on the history of the papacy in modern times. It is a well written and sympathetic account that points out clearly that the enemies of the papacy "without a single exception were also the enemies of Christianity and of civilization as we know and understand it."

WILLIAM J. GAUCHE

*Mt. St. Mary's Seminary*
*Norwood, Ohio*

*Christian Truth in History*. By HUGH MILLER, Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Los Angeles. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. xvii, 236. $2.50.)

This volume is so filled with allusions, assertions, questions, and answers of widely different spheres that it will be read with some difficulty. The author, who spent several years in Berlin, has chosen to devote the first chapter largely to German thought. However, the survey which he gives of the German mind of this time is far from exhaustive; not only does he fail to perceive the presence of Catholic trends within German intellectual life, but he also neglects the most powerful non-Catholic personalities in science and art, such as Max Weber and Stefan George. Nor is he warranted in attempting to characterize Nazi philosophy without

mentioning Nietzsche; Hegel explains only partially the most influential trends within this system.

There seem to be three main problems with which Professor Miller's book is concerned. The first of these, that religion should be made the basis of history, is certainly worthy of consideration. This had been the idea of Doellinger and was shared, at least for a time, by Lord Acton. This conception should be worked out, though perhaps a somewhat more cautious formula like those suggested by Jacob Burckhardt or Max Weber would prove more effective. The second is a belief in evolution and progress throughout history, a confidence so strong that only at very rare intervals (in the parts dealing with the beginnings and the end of the Middle Ages) does the idea of a decline in the midst of this progress break through,—just as had been the case with some thinkers of the Enlightenment. Closely linked with this belief is the assumption that progress has taken place also in the field of religion. What the author calls: "Something of a truism among philosophers today, that the truth of an hypothesis is to be found in its consequences" (p. 126), may be basic to this attitude. Christianity is perceived as "a dynamo of social evolution and political progress" (p. 179) and it is claimed that "the revelation of Truth is necessarily progressive, even where what is progressively known is fixed" (p. 222; cf. p. 194). Progress in the christianization of life is, to Professor Miller, best embodied in the society formed in the United States as a consequence of the American Revolution. In the history of western society, "we see in the rise and development of a free modern society the explicit and practical expression of what Christianity had always intended" (p. 162). Such an attitude seems rather far removed from the historical wisdom of the Protestant Ranke, according to whom "each period is immediate to God", and who stated on another occasion: "there is no progress in individual morals or religiosity; these relations too are in an immediate contact with God".

Historicism in the extreme form proclaimed by Professor Miller (who even wants all natural sciences to be transformed into historical ones, as, according to him, biology is) has always been close to relativism. Thus to him "religion as a living truth must periodically transform its external form or expression." Much as the American Constitution contains within itself the provision for its own amendment—a power of amendment, be it noted, in no way formally limited—so "Christianity has taught ever since its inception, that the strong wine of religious truth must not be stored in old skins" (p. 186).

In view of this somewhat complacent optimism one may wonder that the prospect into the future, which he calls a "Roman" future, is not a more serene one: "We shall envy, but we shall not resuscitate the simple and somewhat provincial Golden Age that was shattered in 1914" (p. 231).

Yet, Professor Miller continues, the Roman future will be but a "dark interval" and during this period "religion will be proved".

The line with which the author concludes his work on *Christian Truth in History*, viz., "God is God, under any name or no name" (p. 232), must make the reader, and not only the Catholic reader, reflect on the significance of the words, *sacrificium tuo sancto nomini praeparatum*.

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

*Catholic University of America*

*Grey Eminence*. By ALDOUS HUXLEY. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1941. Pp. 342. $3.50.)

It is strange, in view of the present popularity of biographies of political personages, that the general public has had to wait so long for one of Father Joseph. This man was the chief agent of the creator of the French hegemony of seventeenth century Europe; also, the dramatic possibilities of his career are obvious in the name given him by his contemporaries, "the Grey Eminence".

François Leclerc du Tremblay, like his master, Richelieu, was born of one of those alliances between the feudal aristocracy and the solid magistracy which became common in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Also like Richelieu, he came to the religious life after a youth spent in preparation for the career in the world to which he was called by his station. Having in boyhood acquired a thorough knowledge of the classics, he went to the most fashionable academy in Paris and there mastered the arts of courtesy and the use of weapons. Then, after a tour of Italy, came a brilliant début at the court of Henry IV, military employment in the relief of Amiens, and diplomatic service in the suite of an ambassador to England. At twenty-two the course of honors in the royal service was wide open to him, but then, to the dismay of his family, he entered one of the strictest of the monastic orders of his day, the reformed Franciscans known as Capuchins.

He showed even more promise in the religious life than he had shown in the world. He was still in the seminary when one of his superiors, the great and good Ange de Joyeuse, made the following judgment of him: "Father Joseph", he said, "is the perfect Capuchin, and the most consummate religious of his province, indeed of the whole order." The next years amply justified this extraordinary eulogy. He became famous for the sanctity of his life and his wonderful success as preacher and converter. He became one of the powers of his order, with the office of provincial of Touraine.

If his life had ended in 1624 he would have a place in the religious history of his country beside that of Bérulle and the other heroes of the great re-

vival of the early century. But he lived until 1638, and these last years were filled with activity of a very different sort, and so striking as almost to eclipse what had gone before.

In 1624 began the ministry of Richelieu. For twenty years the cardinal and Father Joseph had been intimates, and for some time collaborators (it was probably the Capuchin who persuaded Louis XIII to receive Richelieu in his council), and from this moment to the monk's death they were to be inseparable. Father Joseph was not simply the cardinal's chief diplomatic agent; he was also very influential in the creation of general policy. But his greatest service to Richelieu was his unfailing moral support. There were times when the cardinal's nerve would have failed, had it not been for the ministrations, sometimes brutal, of his devoted friend, like that when he was whipped into the act of heroism which saved Paris by being called a coward to his face. No attempt was made to conceal this collaboration, and Father Joseph shared fully the hatred which Richelieu inspired in France and throughout Europe. When he died, the saintly Condren refused to preach at his funeral, giving as his reason that he could not praise a man who had been the instrument of the cardinal's passions, and was hated by the whole of France.

Father Joseph's personality was a mystery to his contemporaries, and has remained one to this day. How could a man of his indubitable spiritual attainments have allowed himself to become the moral support and the tool of one of the most vicious politicians of history?

Mr. Huxley embarks boldly upon the attempt to solve this problem. He finds a solution in the teachings of the school of mystics in which the monk was trained. This group was dominated by an Englishman, a certain Father Benet. According to Mr. Huxley, Father Benet, while certainly a great spirit, was guilty of deviating from the line of true mysticism, which is the Dionysian tradition. His error was his assertion that even in the final state of union one should have his eye fixed upon the crucified Savior. The great tradition, says the author, affirmed that in the final state there are no images whatever in the mind.

Trained in this school, Father Joseph, then, never reached the heights of mystical experience. But also, his master neglected to give him an answer to the central moral problem of his career: Is it permissible to do an evil deed for the benefit of one's country? Father Joseph, unenlightened, concluded that it was, and abetted Richelieu's deceits and cruelties with a clear conscience.

This reviewer found Mr. Huxley's explanation unsatisfactory. His indictment of Father Benet's mysticism is not convincing. As for his second point, that Father Joseph justified his immorality by appealing to the principle of reason of state, it is not supported by a shred of evidence, either from Father Joseph's writings or reports of contemporaries. And

as a hypothesis, the explanation seems very dubious. No one in France, save a handful of machiavellians, doubted for a moment that the state was under the same moral law as the individual. If Father Benet omitted treating this subject, it is because the problem did not exist.

Mr. Huxley's work, then, seems to fail in its chief object, solution of the mystery of a strange personality. It also is of small value as a description of the politics of the time. The latter was slighted in favor of the religious background, and is not entirely trustworthy.

In spite of these faults, however, the book is interesting; first, for flashes of local color, and finally for the teaching, which was, the reviewer believes, Mr. Huxley's prime motive. This is stated in the following passage:

> The few theocentric saints who exist at any given moment are able in some slight measure to qualify and mitigate the poisons which society generates within itself by its political and economic activities. In the gospel phrase, theocentric saints are the salt which preserves the social world from breaking down into irremediable decay.

If he throws little light on Father Joseph or the Thirty Years War, he reminds us forcibly of the truth which alone can save us.

PAUL RICE DOOLIN

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*Good Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris.* By YVONNE DE LA VERGNE. Translated by Newton Thompson, S.T.D. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. 235. $2.25.)

This biography of Cardinal Richard de Lavergne is a character study in fifteen chapters. For the author, apparently a distant relative, it seems to have been a work of love. He traced his ancestry back to the fifteenth century and dwelt especially on the devotion of that patriarchal family to the Holy See and to the royal family of France. As it is well known, the cardinal had these qualities in an eminent degree and he was one of those ecclesiastics who found it difficult to live under the regime of the Third Republic. From his early youth he tried to imitate St. Francis of Sales whose name he had received in baptism. Although he was the only surviving son of an old noble family, he decided to study for the Church. At the age of thirty-one he was already vicar general of the diocese of Nantes. In 1872 he became bishop of Belley. Three years later Cardinal Archbishop Guibert of Paris chose him as his co-adjutor, and in 1888 he succeeded him in that position. On May 24, 1889 Pope Leo XIII created him a cardinal. The last five chapters of the book deal with his activities as the first ecclesiastic in France for a period of nearly two decades.

The author enters comparatively little into the many political and religious questions which occupied the minds of many men during Richard's administration of the Paris see. Without a doubt this was done purposely. Many of these phases in the cardinal's life were already treated in the *Souvenirs personels de Mgr. Richard* by Monsigneur Odelin in 1908 and in a larger biography of the churchman, the *Vie du Cardinal Richard*. Moreover, the writer had as his main object to show the principal trait in his character: his priestly goodness towards all fellowmen. This is evident from the chapter "The Vicar General's Charity," in which he described not only his work in his office, but also as a writer and a promoter of the canonization of local saints. He could show this still more in his life as a bishop, especially as he had chosen as his motto: "Do all things that God may be better loved." One of these acts of Bishop Richard deserves to be mentioned viz., his efforts to have the Venerable Jean B. Vianney, a former priest of the diocese of Belley, beatified in 1872. This same course is followed in the description of the work of Richard as a churchman in Paris. The author emphasizes his priestly functions, among them his solicitude to build a national shrine to the Sacred Heart on Montmartre and his delight in consecrating France to Christ on June 28, 1889. Yet the difficulties which he had with an anti-clerical government and his diplomatic relations with the Holy See are not entirely omitted. They are mainly in the chapter, "The Cardinal's Labors", but from an historical standpoint the reader would desire much more, especially the English reader. Naturally the translator could not correct that. The translation itself is well done. All must agree that the author has proven his theme of the Good Cardinal Richard. Nor is he the only one who shares this view. J. Brugerette, a recent French historian, says of the cardinal: "His angelic piety, profound humility, great mortification and boundless charity gave him already during his lifetime the reputation of a saint" (*Le Prêtre français et la société contemporaine*, III, 17, Paris, 1938).

FELIX FELLNER

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*The French Laic Laws (1879-1889). The First Anti-Clerical Campaign of the Third French Republic.* By EVELYN M. ACOMB, Ph.D., Instructor in History, New Jersey College for Women. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 282. $3.50.)

This is another one of those excellent studies on modern French history done at Columbia University under the direction of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes. The present volume is especially welcome because it affords us a balanced account of the clerical and anti-clerical activities in the first days of the Third Republic. Most of the textbook writers on modern European

history needed such research, and certainly the leaders of the still existing democracies could learn much from the story of this internal struggle in the late French republic.

The author introduces her study with a review of the relations between the Catholic Church and France. In evaluating their relative strength and their positions on various problems there is the foreshadowing of the future conflict. Logically, in the next two chapters she analyses the sources of French anti-clericalism and points out the role played by the positivists, the deists, and the materialists. In such a list of anti-clericals there can be no exact measure for weighing each one's influence. It seems to the reviewer that the prestige of the historians Michelet and Quinet at the Collège de France should rate their influence much higher. Both were very zealous; the former claimed his classroom was an artillery against the Jesuit morality shown in his *Le prêtre, la femme et la famille;* and the latter boasted in his autobiography that for thirty years he fought against the Church. Both collaborated in a volume called *Les Jésuites* which summarized their attacks. The same is true of the unmentioned journalists, who like Victor Meunier established his *Echo des Instituteurs* to destroy the Christian Brothers and in his *L'Opinion national* even blasted at Pasteur as being on the side of Genesis and the clericals for disproving spontaneous generation. It has been proved that such was the popular literature of the age, which generally had a Jesuit as a villain. Most likely if all this were included there would be no space for the other important sources that the author does include, as the domestic and foreign policies of Gambetta. It is clear that the latter wanted to placate the wealthy and so used the worked-up fear of a clerical invasion to smother the social legislation of Comte de Mun. Moreover, he was a victim of Bismarck's intrigues of keeping France weak by encouraging internal strifes.

The missionary aspects of anti-clericalism are clear, not only from their teachings but especially from their methods of propaganda. The privileged position of the Catholic schools was the *bête-noire* of all anti-clericals, and so was the object of their assaults. This was to be expected, for the two groups were living in antagonistic worlds which wanted a fight to the end. The anti-clericals won the legal battle over education. The methods employed by the Educational League and Freemasonry are recorded in this volume and certainly do not make pleasant reading for the sincere liberal. After accumulating abundant evidence of the activities of individual Masons in this struggle, still the author writes, "yet how great the influence of Freemasonry really was in the passage of the anti-clerical legislation, beyond the formation of a favorable public opinion, is a highly controversial question, difficult to answer" (p. 119). This is held in spite of the fact that the Grand Orient excommunicated the French lodges during this period. Perhaps some chapters in Father Herbert Thurston's

book, *No Popery,* or the records in *Les Questions actuelles* would afford sufficient evidence for a definite opinion.

The rest of the book is less interpretative, for it consists of an account of the legal changes desired by the party in power, the campaign made to obtain the desired goal, and the final triumphant legislation. The new laws affected the army chaplains, divorce, burials, church holidays, and authorization of the religious orders and their taxation. All these legal changes were accomplished in the name of secularization of French life. The main sources for the account of the legal activities are the official publications—*J. O. C.* and *S. O. C.* The author, however, does not permit her book to become a dry legal treatise. Through the judicious use of parliamentary speeches, memoirs, and biographies she allows the fanatics to become alive in her account. This is done by sprinkling such items as their having the words, " Dieu protège la France ", struck from the national currency, removing the name of God from oaths, and their suggestion to destroy the famous basilica of the Sacred Heart on Montmartre.

It may seem ungracious to point out any blemishes in a work whose author draws from the evidences submitted this timely conclusion, that " subservience to the ideal of a higher centralized national state may produce intolerance, violation of civil liberties, and suppression of the rights of autonomous groups within the state " (p. 258). That legitimate conclusion is based on facts in authentic records, so it would seem superfluous for any historian to make a profession of faith such as this: " The point of view of the present writer is that of a Protestant who believes that the civil and religious liberties of those of every faith should be preserved " (p. 9). This is evident from her work and readers might be annoyed by her profession of faith—at least a department at Columbia University could not digest without a murmur an *imprimatur* on one of their late books in this very series. The Catholic is made more alert to pounce on such slips as classifying " Jesuits as monks " (p. 17); as claiming " tales of miracles as evidence of religious impulse " (p. 19); as having " chaplains conducting masses " (p. 186); and especially as picturing Leo XIII in his *Immortale Dei* as " cleverly " trying " to end quarrels between the liberals and the ultra-conservatives . . . in such a manner that both parties found support for their views " (p. 244). There is no evidence given that the Holy Father intended to puzzle them. It was their own willfulness that prompted them to pull arguments for their own side out of this document. The insinuation of papal cleverness has the flavor of the anti-clerical epithet, " Leo the old fox ". True, the whole spirit of Miss Acomb's book would assure us that such thoughts were not in her mind and her general account is that of a true historian.

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

*The Story of American Catholicism.* By THEODORE MAYNARD. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xv, 694. $3.50.)

It is heartening to find in the United States increasing attention given by laymen to the study of topics which, as Dr. Maynard observes, have been "usually reserved for ecclesiastics." John Gilmary Shea was for decades the voice of *one* in the wilderness, and he was by training and outlook a cleric. The significance of this trend is not merely the evidence it shows of an awakening lay interest in church history and of the development of a richer scholarship where it has so sadly been needed; but such studies written from the lay point of view must also result in closer understanding between pulpit and pew, and should do much to rid the non-Catholic mind of the too prevalent notion that the laity is "priest-ridden".

Several of the author's works are examples of this changed attitude. The present volume is one of real value and importance in spite of many serious faults. It is challenging, frank, provocative, and above all readable. It is intended for the general reader; it is also recommended by the publisher as "a splendid text for schools and colleges." In the opinion of the reviewer the teacher will have some difficulties with it. As collateral or required reading, yes; but its lack of proportion, its individuality, its tone of personal conviction, and its frequent excursions into realms other than history may operate against its wide adoption as a manual for class use. The Catholic reader will often be irritated by the author's *obiter dicta* and will not always be in agreement with his judgments, but a surprising amount of information will be gained. The book should appeal to the student of church history everywhere. Those not of the fold will find evidences of fallibility, it is true, and will be confirmed in the knowledge that human weaknesses are not confined to the ministers of any single religion, but they must have greater respect, after perusal, for the claim of divine origin made by an institution which could accomplish so much under adverse conditions in so brief a span.

The volume has an Introduction and twenty-nine chapters (the reviewer's copy lacks a table of contents); also, the reproduction of a map (p. 456) which is too small for satisfactory study and misleading in its interpretation; a useful alphabetical list (pp. 617-648) of archdiocesan and diocesan sees of the Latin rite in the United States and territories, together with a chronology of their occupants (prepared by Fathers Florence Cohalan and Robert McNamara); and a bibliography (pp. 649-675) arranged alphabetically and without any attempt at evaluation, which is a wide net both in extent and mesh, since it has caught titles (many irrelevant) ranging from textbooks to works of reference, but has allowed to escape more of serious worth than could possibly be enumerated here. Some carelessness

in the compilation of the list as it stands should be noted: C. M. Andrews's study is in four volumes, not three; the number of volumes of Castañeda's work is not given; Wilfrid Parsons' volume was not published in 1930. Sister Blanche McEniry's recent account of *American Catholics in the War with Mexico* might appropriately have been cited either in the bibliography or in the note to page 312; and Professor Purcell's several articles on the early Irish in America should have been called to the reader's attention. But important omissions are too numerous to specify. The author's more direct footnote references are more pertinent. Historians will, however, question the statement (p. 330 n.) that Cecil Chesterton's *Short History of the United States,* written while in camp, "is by far the most readable short history of America" (p. 330 n.). Mr. Maynard himself admits "it is not always accurate."

Certain statements are made in the Introduction which call for comment. It is there stated with truth that religious liberty in America owed much to its denial by certain Protestant colonizing groups, but the succeeding inference that the Catholics of Maryland were Americans from the beginning because they "never thought of religious liberty as something that should be exclusively enjoyed by themselves" is a *non sequitur,* and fails to explain that Calvert would have had great difficulty in carrying out his plans had he not shared his settlement with non-Catholics. Besides, the Toleration Act did not guarantee full religious liberty since it excluded those not believing in the Trinity and proposed a harsh fate for those who denied the divinity of Christ.

Since a book should be judged by the author's intention some further reference to the Introduction is necessary in that the result may be matched with the plan. Credit is due the author for his attempt to give the political and social background of American life in order properly to implement the history of Catholicism. The results, however, are not always successful. In some chapters this phase is overdone, in others it is beside the mark or shows no connection with the religious history; and for the periods of colonization and of the more recent social revolution this mode of approach is entirely lacking.

Mr. Maynard offers no apologies for being a "literary" historian or a "popularizer", but suggests that such work should receive from the scientific historian condonation similar to that given the latter for his lack of literary gifts! Such writers must not expect to be exempted from the critical judgment of historians on the ground that they do not claim to be historians. If they do not wish to be judged by the hard and fast rules of modern scientific historiography they should choose vehicles of literary expression that will not force them to bridle the steeds of their fancy. So would an historian expect to be judged by the poet or essayist if he should employ their technique to present historical facts.

This product is a good example of how the results of patient research and facts which are commonplace to the professional historian eventually reach the ultimate consumer—seasoned and garnished into a palatable dish. No one can deny to the literary historian a measure of justice in protesting against dry-as-dust pedantry. Too often the professionally trained historian is but a patient camel in the historical desert. In its earnestness the scientific movement in history put aside as unimportant the form in which history was written. It cared nothing for the ultimate standing of history as a branch of literature. It was too busy with research to consider but one end—the approximation of truth. But today the better type of historians are perceiving that too many of the craft "were driving over corduroy instead of concrete", and that it is not necessary for history to become dull in order that it may be written in the scientific spirit. Anyhow, the rhetorical sins of the much maligned scientific historian do not excuse the popularizer from faults more numerous and just as grievous.

This book shows many of these uncritical methods. It is more of an essay than a history, and as such is inevitably a reflection of the author. It is to his credit that he has none of the historian's reluctance to interpret; but at times he asserts with more assurance than factual evidence would seem to warrant, and some of his pronouncements raise more questions than they answer. Addiction to the episode for the incident's sake, distorted emphasis, the selection of material which lends itself best to literary treatment, and half-truths are other marks of the literary historian which show in this volume.

Inexcusable in a serious work of history is the omission of authorities, especially in the matter of citation of documents and letters. Such signposts to accuracy are so frequently absent that the reader must either assume that the last authority given, perhaps two or more pages before, is still being used, or be given no opportunity of checking the truth of the statements made *e. g.*, pp. 205, 226, 230, 233, 297-298, 341, 376, 392-393). Where, for example, would one find the origin of Cardinal Mundelein's statement (p. 433); where was Dr. Baker's paper printed (p. 443); where can Archbishop Ireland's sermon be found (p. 511); what is the authority for the quotation on Bishop Keane's dismissal as rector of the Catholic University of America (p. 518); or for the several episodes (pp. 519, 548, etc.); or for the oft-repeated account of President Wilson's discourteous treatment of ecclesiastics (p. 539)?

Two other faults common to writers of popular biography and history may also be charged to Dr. Maynard. The first is the use of comment which permits him to guess at results or to play the role of prophet. The historian is not allowed to opine that "had it not been for that shot [Champlain's killing of an Iroquois], the shot of the 'embattled farmer'

might never have rung around the world" (p. 46); or to reflect that "except for a mishap . . . the northern continent today would probably be Catholic" (p. 11). Parenthetically, would Spain have escaped British power any more than did France? Nor is there evidence to justify such a statement as: "Had it not been for this [the address of Congress], it is quite probable that Canada would have joined the rebelling colonies" (p. 133). This practice of leaping into the dark when the records fail sprinkles the narrative too thickly with such expressions as "probably", "we can guess", "we can be reasonably sure", "might have", and other speculative terms.

The second of these faults is the emphasis placed on human frailty.

> *De mortuis nil nisi malum*:
> Now they're dead, come let's assail 'em.

Dr. Maynard does not probe so deeply as most modern debunkers, but he does not conceal unsavory truths. The mistresses of Columbus and Cortés are named, the sexual lapses of early New England are not overlooked, and the jealousies and quarrels of bishops and priests are brought in the open. What is overstressed is the use of whiskey by the religious. A restrained general statement of this weakness would have answered every purpose, if it were thought at all necessary, and would have absolved the writer of any charge of unfrankness. But to place the label of drunkard on so many individuals gives a wrong impression, especially since this indulgence was not always the reason for ecclesiastical conduct. The things that count in the career of any man are those that have enduring and lasting value, not his weaknesses and abnormalities.

A brief survey of the contents of this book will show its wide scope. A prodigious amount of reading is evident; and problems of synthesis and organization, of inclusion and exclusion must have been many in the preparation of a volume which avoids the usual treatment by dioceses, institutions, and religious orders.

The opening chapter on the discovery of America, reveals acquaintance with the legends and facts of pre-Columbian exploration, and dwells at length on the mediaeval Church in Greenland. Since Adrian IV was not elected pope until 1154, he could not have established the metropolitan see of Trondhjem in 1151 (p. 5). Eubel gives this date as 1189. The same authority lists Vincent Kampe, not Petersson, as the last consecrated bishop of the diocese of Gardar (p. 6).

There follow adequate and colorful accounts of the first explorers and settlers, of the Spanish and French missions. The succeeding chapter on Lord Baltimore's Sanctuary includes a brief statement of earlier attempts at English colonization. Here the date of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay is given as 1629 rather than 1630 (p. 61). One may question if the detailed account of life and customs in Maryland has any connection

with the subject. The case of Fathers Copley and White is not exactly stated. It is true that their defense, that they had been brought to England against their will, prevailed, but they were ordered to leave the realm. Upon refusal to go, White was again imprisoned and early in 1648 petitioned the House of Lords for his release. He was sent to Holland, but died in England.

The chapter on the penal age is not well titled, for it has much more to say of other things (including education, ecclesiastical administration, international disputes, etc.) than the connotation of this phrase would lead the reader to expect. To say that "rich people can usually contrive to break the law with impunity" (p. 99), is a bit of sharp writing which illustrates the author's frequent indulgence in personalities.

The discussion of the causes of the Revolution is an oversimplified statement of something more complex. The author thinks there were two Catholic causes: "The close affinity between scholastic political philosophy and the American concept", and colonial reaction to the Quebec Act. Throughout, much is made of the former. I wonder if the Catholics of the time believed or were thinking that they were favoring the Revolution because its principles "were so closely consonant with Catholic philosophy" (p. 117). Ever since Dr. Gaillard Hunt, several years ago in this REVIEW, pointed out certain similarities between the writings of Cardinal Bellarmine and the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, the legend has grown until today the unqualified statement is frequently made that Jefferson wrote his famous charter from one of the cardinal's works. On this particular point, Mr. Maynard (pp. 117-120) has been more sensible than other protagonists of this theory, but the reviewer believes he makes too much of his thesis that the American tradition was taken from scholastic philosophy. There are several half-truths in this chapter: just how had Parliament "humored" the colonies (p. 112); did the colonial debts to the London bankers and merchants arise solely from the lack of specie (p. 112); had not the colonies some claim through their charters to the western lands (p. 113)? No account is taken of many other grievances against the mother country which resulted in the breach. In fact, it might have been better had this discussion been confined to the Catholic causes advanced, since the general treatment lacks too much.

In the chapter devoted to Catholics in the Revolution a fair statement is made of Catholic participation. Too much is not claimed, and Michael O'Brien's studies are properly evaluated. There are, however, too many surmises respecting Canadian loyalty. Reference has before been made to one of these. Briand's oath of allegiance and colonial bigotry did not in themselves save Canada for England.

The story of "The Church Turbulent" is one of defection, racial jealousies, and dissensions. In this connection the subject of trusteeism is

capably handled, as it is in later chapters. Harsh names are called: Reuter "was politely informed that he was a liar" (p. 191); the friar Sedella was a man of "loose morals" (p. 193); DuBourg "had to fall back upon naïve duplicity to extricate himself" (p. 195).

"The Church under Construction" is a happier tale and recounts the beginnings of Catholic higher education, the introduction of the religious orders, and the spread of the faith. The Sulpicians will not like the word "suppressed" used in connection with St. Mary's (p. 202), which was voluntarily closed at a time when it was flourishing with about 300 students; there is no authority cited for the statement that Kohlmann would have been appointed bishop of New York "had he not been a Jesuit" (p. 212); and the Dominicans will not agree with the estimate given of Bishop Connolly (p. 214, 220).

John England enters the next chapter. His splendid work is well appraised. There are more unsavory truths respecting trusteeism, the case of Gallagher, "a brilliant orator" and "a drunkard", and the Hogan affair. The author has a predilection for the Irish as bishops and priests over the Germans and French. The first did have the advantage of speaking English, but in Pennsylvania, the Mid-West, and other sections he would have difficulty in proving his point over German priests, and his charge of "unfitness" of the French for clerical posts in the United States (p. 233) is disproved by the magnificent work of the Sulpicians and of the French as pastors in the Northwest. The latter, however, are later given the credit they deserve (p. 258). The career of Bishop Kelly of Richmond shows him to have been more than "a pious nonentity" (p. 221). After his return to Ireland his record as bishop of Waterford-Lismore was far more than ordinary.

Near the very beginning of the chapter dealing with the frontier the reader will question the statement that, "almost any Protestant church is better managed than the average Catholic parish" (p. 249). The author, too, disposes too easily of Turner's famous theory—a theory that is misunderstood and only partially cited. It must be remembered that Turner applied his theory especially to the period which closed with the frontier's disappearance. He never claimed to have discovered in his frontier philosophy a universal solvent for American historical problems or to have embraced in it all frontier factors. The advance of scholarship since 1893, when his important study appeared, has brought to light an abundance of facts which Turner never saw. Some of these fit comfortably into his pattern, while others were made by interpreters to carry the theory further than he would have pushed it.

The story of the Catholic Invasion is forceful, and includes striking accounts of several outbursts of Nativism. Paradoxically, in the midst of one of these the United States saw fit to open formal diplomatic relations

with the Holy See. This relationship, and its more recent resumption, certainly deserved some mention in a book of this character. The bibliography shows that the author was familiar with some of the literature on the subject. The Mexican War inaugurated the period of Imperial Expansion, in which chapter the ensuing gains to the Church are noted, the earlier story of the California missions is told, and the ecclesiastical organization of Oregon related. In a few sentences such religious excrescences as Mormonism, Christian Science, and other eccentric movements are neatly defined.

The Civil War period is covered by two chapters called "The Grave of Calhoun" and "John Brown's Body." There is a long discursive essay and subjective discourse on slavery, the most of which seems out of place (pp. 327 *et seq.*). The much needed study of the Church and slavery is not furthered by the superficial treatment here given. It was not against the Missouri Compromise that Calhoun "protested with his last breath" (p. 350), but the Compromise of 1850, thirty years later. Mississippi was not a border state (p. 358); Missouri is intended. Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation is held "unjustifiable" and "a monstrous injustice" (p. 359). But as a war measure it certainly brought results; of greater import was its effect upon the liberal opinion of the world. It averted all danger of foreign intervention and lifted the conflict to the dignity of a crusade. Nor was it more unjust than other confiscatory measures in American history. The arrest of Bishop Elder of Natchez for refusal to say prayers for the federal authorities is another example that could have been added (p. 363) to illustrate the war friction between Church and government. Father Corby was not the only Catholic chaplain with the Union forces at Gettysburg (p. 366): Father Joseph O'Hagan, S.J., served with the 73d New York Infantry. There were at least two Catholic chaplains with the Confederate forces on that field. What is the authority for the statement that there were thousands of soldier-converts during the war or shortly after, because of the example of the nursing Sisters? It should also be observed that the Catholic University of America now admits colored students.

The pages of the chapter on Reconstruction devoted to the history of the Church chiefly concern the loss of Catholic Negroes. The fervent plea made for missionary work among the colored (pp. 386-390) is scarcely appropriate for a history of the Church. Reconstruction of the Church, it is pointed out, took the form of papal infallibility.

"The Fate of the Indian" recounts the work of De Smet, Mother Duchesne, and others on the Indian mission. It is not fair to other orders of religious women to say that the Duchesne foundation "has attracted to itself the greatest number of women of gentle blood and high intellectual

attainments in America" (p. 413). Earlier the Society of the Sacred Heart is termed "the most 'aristocratic' of all orders" (p. 391).

Under the breezy title of "The Public Be Damned", the rise of big business in America is described with much individual comment. Several statements in this chapter may be challenged. The American proletariat were certainly not less "powerless" than English textile and mining workers in the early nineteenth century (p. 426). Reading that McGlynn "ended his own turbulent career in 1900", the reader will suspect that he was a suicide (p. 436). The reviewer doubts if the Holy Office had "never" reversed itself before the Knights of Labor case (p. 436). The clerical abuse of Powderly was no excuse for his leaving the Church (p. 437 n.).

A chapter on "The Lost Land" indicts city life for a declining birth rate, loss of spirituality, and for other corrupting influences. A good case could be made in favor of urban morals as against rural. The chapter also tells of the failure of Catholic colonization plans in the past and cites the more encouraging work of recent years as a good omen of better expectations in the work of rural evangelization.

The historical treatment of "The Educational Effort" is a good review of the growth of Catholic colleges and schools, the attempts to reconcile the public and parochial systems, the controversy over Church control of education, legislation of Church and State affecting education, etc. The author maintains it was a mistake for Catholic colleges to yield to the demands for standardization which, he believes, has led to many compromises and undue emphasis given to pedagogy and methods. He decries also the insistence upon the doctorate, for which he has little good to say; and he condemns the mania for football. One complication in the present situation he fails to note: competition among the several orders to establish and maintain colleges and universities has resulted in too many institutions of mediocre worth, with much overlapping and duplication of work. The accrediting agencies have certainly done some of these colleges much good.

The matter of graduate studies is discussed in the next chapter, "The New Status," which is concerned with the birth and development of the Catholic University of America, the rise in educational standards, the growth of professional schools, the sending of an Apostolic Delegate to Washington, and the A. P. A. movement. It is a mistake to say that there was in the beginning a School of Social Service at the Catholic University of America (p. 485); the correct name of the historical foundation at Loyola University is the Institute of Jesuit History (p. 487, n.); the highly rated medical school at St. Louis is given no mention (p. 488); and the Chicago World's Fair was held in 1893 not 1892 (p. 490).

The chapter on "The American Heresy" the reviewer considers the finest of the volume; it is really well done. One of the author's heroes is

Cardinal Gibbons. Two chapters are devoted to the career of this popular churchman and to the religious history of his time—a story of such length and importance that no summary can be attempted.

The most controversial chapter of this book will be the one concerned with "The Cultural Contribution." Here the author appears to be getting most enjoyment out of his writing. His surroundings are more familiar, and he need not be too historical since every man is entitled to his own opinions and judgments in such matters. It will serve no purpose to enter disagreement with Dr. Maynard's views or selections. Catholic historians will most certainly not agree that the most worthy in this field have been chosen. While many names in literature, not listed, suggest themselves, it is surprising to this reviewer, at least, that Charles Warren Stoddard should have been overlooked. Unfortunate also is the failure to mention publicists, diplomats, musicians, librarians, students of political science, etc. The extended comment on Brownson (nearly six pages) might well have been shortened. The school of architecture at the Catholic University of America is neither "new" nor a "school', but only a department (p. 572). It is a mistake to say that the Mayo Clinic "is conducted under Catholic auspices" (p. 574). To relegate John Lancaster Spalding to a footnote (p. 584) is to deny the reader proper appreciation of one of the greatest figures in the intellectual life of the Church. Father Tabb taught at St. Charles College, Catonsville, not St. Charles Seminary, Baltimore (p. 560).

The final chapter, called "The Corporate Vision," is an attempt "to summarize the events of the last twenty years", with particular stress upon the Church's work in promoting charitable service and social justice. The book closes with a discussion of the problems ahead. In the conclusion the comment on the decadence of American Protestantism may easily be misunderstood (cf. *Time*, Nov. 17). Protestantism, it should be remembered, is still a strong tradition around which anti-Catholic forces may from time to time rally with a certain amount of success. There is no mention of the Legion of Decency.

Typographical errors are too numerous to be attributed to a mere Homeric nod; certainly the proofreading was not done by a careful eye. The following were noted: "Antun" for "Autun" (p. 169 n.), "dishearted" (pp. 182, 379), 'subordination" for "insubordination" (p. 183), "Kolhmann" for "Kohlmann" (p. 212), "trustees" for "trustee" (p. 218), "successions" for "succession" (p. 222), "more" for "mere" (p. 241), "that" for "than" (p. 258, last l.), "Trancendental" (p. 286), "lucrubations" (p. 290), "chattles" (p. 328), "misgenation" (p. 331), "freedom" for "freedmen" (p. 381), "conquerer" (p. 385), "concommitant" (p. 451), "Caholic" (p. 455), "Brooklands" for "Brookland" (p. 486), "principle" for "principal" (p. 505), "religious" for "religion" (p. 516, n. 16), the day and year are given of Archbishop Ireland's letter but not

the month (p. 516, n. 18), second "as" should be deleted (p. 524, last l.), National Catholic Welfare "Council" for "Conference" (p. 535, n. 8), "ovrtook" (p. 576), "here" repeated (p. 579, n. 20), "Transcendalists" (p. 583). The index is a typical commercial variety and inadequate, containing very little but bare names of persons and places and not all of them. Likewise the publisher's statement that, "for the first time, the history of the Catholic Church is given in one fascinating volume," is strictly speaking not true, since there have been at least three one-volume histories of the Church in this country by De Courcy-Shea (1856), Murray (1876), and O'Gorman (1895).

To sum up: Dr. Maynard has written a book of considerable worth and literary charm but one which, measured by the canons of historical criticism, has many defects. He would have assured it a more permanent position in Catholic historiography by sifting his evidence more carefully and by concealing some of his predilections. If the hand of this product is the hand of the student of history, its voice is the voice of the poet and essayist. But perhaps books that are read do more good than books that are not read.

LEO F. STOCK

*Carnegie Institution of Washington*

*Hennepin's Description of Louisiana.* By JEAN DELANGLEZ S.J., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. [Institute of Jesuit History Publications, Vol. IV]. (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1941. Pp. viii, 164. $2.70.)

In 1679-1680 three Récollect priests, Fathers Louis Hennepin, Gabriel de la Ribourde, and Zenobe Membre accompanied the explorer, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, from Niagara River to Lake Peoria. Fort Créve Coeur, erected near the site of East Peoria, Illinois was the point of departure when on February 29, 1680, Accault, Auguelle, and Hennepin began the descent of the Illinois River to the junction of the Illinois and the Mississippi which they reached on March 7, 1680. If we consider the respective achievements of Hennepin and LaSalle, the prior claim of having beheld the Father of Waters is awarded to Hennepin, since LaSalle did not see the Mississippi until December 5, 1680. Louis Joliet and Father Marquette discovered and partially explored the lower reaches of the Mississippi in 1673. Hennepin and his lay companions explored the upper Mississippi to its source. LaSalle explored the great river to its mouth at the Gulf of Mexico in 1682. While ascending the Mississippi, Hennepin and his companions on April 11, 1680 were captured by Sioux Indians and they completed the journey to the Falls of St. Anthony and to the Mille Lacs region in the company of their captors. Released by the mediation of the explorer Duluth, Hennepin's party arrived at Michillimackinac before December, 1680 according to Hennepin's own account.

Father Hennepin's story of his exploits in America, the *Description of Louisiana*, published in Paris in 1683, is the edition which forms the basis of Father Delanglez's critical essay. The conclusion of this analytic treatise is that the first two-thirds of the *Description of Louisiana* is a plagiarism of the first third of the *Relation des descouvertes* written by Abbé Claude Bernou, who derived ninety-five per cent of his material for his *Relation*—about one hundred pages in Pierre Margry's edition of documents (1876-1881)—from three letters of LaSalle. In the first section of his book, Father Delanglez reviews and rejects the solutions of Pierre Margry, John Gilmary Shea, and Marc De Villiers. The weighing of the external and internal evidence bearing on the *Description of Louisiana* involves a detailed study of the chronology, latitudes, toponymy of the Great Lakes 1650-1683, geography of the Mississippi Valley, cartography 1650-1683, nomenclature of persons, places, and Indian tribes, the determination of the date and authorship of the *Relation des descouvertes*, and a comparison of the style and contents of the two related documents: "The composition of the *Relation des descouvertes* could be graphically shown by printing it in one column and the corresponding passages from LaSalle's letters in the other."

There is given here Hennepin's map superimposed on a modern map (p. 24). Was the map used by Hennepin in his *Description of Louisiana* original or was it a copy of an anonymous map drawn in 1682 in Paris? Father Delanglez decides that Hennepin's map was a copy of the map of 1682 which was made in collaboration with Abbé Claude Bernou, author of the *Relation des descouvertes*, who relied on data drawn from the letters of LaSalle. Either in the text or in the bibliography Father Delanglez surveys all the literature relating to the subject. The chronological list of commentators on the *Description of Louisiana* numbers seventeen (1683-1689). The editions of the *Description of Louisiana* include three in French, two in Italian, two in Flemish, one in German, and the two in English by John Gilmary Shea, (New York, 1880) and by Marion E. Cross, (Minneapolis, 1938). The reviewer noted two typographical errors (pp. 1, 31).

Dr. Delanglez's essay is original, scholarly, and a distinctive contribution to the field of historical criticism of the documentation of the Mississippi Valley in the seventeenth century. His book will be indispensable to historical technicians, to students, teachers, and writers who deal with the foundations in the Mid-West of America. Although complete in itself the critical essay is a link in a chain of coherent studies previously published by the same author: *The Journal of Jean Cavelier* (1938), *Some LaSalle Journeys* (1938), and *Frontenac and the Jesuits* (1939).

THOMAS F. CLEARY

*St. Joseph's Rectory*
*Kewanee, Illinois*

*The Curé of Ruillé*. By BROTHER EPHREM, C.S.C. (Notre Dame, Indiana: Ave Maria Press. 1941. Pp. 268. $1.00.)

This volume is a contribution to the literature of the religious orders and congregations established in the United States. Father James Francis Dujarié, the Curé of Ruillé, was the founder of the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence and of the Brothers of St. Joseph, who were later affiliated with the Auxiliary Priests of Le Mans to form the new Conregation of the Holy Cross. Both of these societies, on the petition of Father Celestine de la Hailandière, vicar general of the diocese of Vincennes, who had been commissioned by Bishop Bruté to visit France to secure aid for his diocese, founded establishments in Indiana in the early eighteen forties, the one at St. Mary-of-the-Woods and the other at Notre Dame.

Brother Ephrem, who is the First Assistant General of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, has written a careful, readable, and appreciative biography of a little-known character in ecclesiastical history. His purpose was not to compose a comprehensive account of the life of Father Dujarié but rather to emphasize his work and influence as founder of the two religious societies and more particularly as founder of the Brothers of St. Joseph. Consequently about half of the work is devoted to the organization and early development of this congregation, while the account of the other events in Father Dujarié's life and pastorate and of the founding of the Sisters of Providence is comparatively brief.

The story of the curé is similar to that of the other non-juring clergy of his time. Ordained during the French Revolution and having carried on his ministrations in secret until the signing of the Concordat, he was faced with the task of reconstructing the faith of a large parish in northern France. Seeking auxiliaries in his work, his first care was to build "Little Providence" as the home of a group of pious ladies commissioned to instruct the children and to visit the sick. In 1820 he began the organization of a new institute of brothers "whose members would aid the pastors in the capacity of sacristans, choirmasters and school teachers, one or more members to go wherever needed." In spite of poverty, hardships, and the political storm of 1830, the new institute prospered and its schools increased in number. Father Dujarié retained his position as superior until advanced age and other infirmities caused his resignation in 1835 and the community was placed in the charge of his friend, Father Basil Anthony Moreau. About this time Father Moreau organized a small group of diocesan priests interested in giving retreats and missions, known as the Auxiliary Priests of Le Mans. Having become the superior of two distinct communities, he began to form them into an organic union. In 1837 the first step in this direction was taken and the Congregation of the Holy Cross was founded.

Father Dujarié had many characteristics in common with other better-known French ecclesiastics of the last century and his life was an illustra-

tion of a deeply religious nature. There is, however, a minimum of pious reflections in the book and testimony concerning his character and spirituality is reserved for the concluding chapters. The style is factual, with little attempt at ornamentation. The author has made conscientious use of his sources and in many cases quotes directly from them. As he points out in his first chapter, they are few and scattered. No extended biography of Father Dujarié has yet been written—" only a few scanty references to him can be found in English "—and the French lives are all based on a brief account written by Father Moreau in 1843. Besides these and other printed sources, the author has used some miscellaneous documents and manuscripts found in the general archives of the Holy Cross. There are a number of typographical errors in the book and there is no index.

ROBERT GORMAN

*St. Mary-of-the-Woods College*

*All the Day Long. James A. Walsh, Co-Founder of Maryknoll.* By DANIEL SARGENT. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1941. Pp. x, 259. $2.50.)

Daniel Sargent here presents a highly interesting popular biography of one of the most captivating American churchmen of our generation. In readable, at times brilliant, English, he depicts with loving hand the life story of the man, the priest, the missioner, the founder, the father general, the prelate who was Bishop James Anthony Walsh. Few American Catholics have not marvelled at the rapid, sturdy growth of Maryknoll and been fascinated by a strange something about its spirit that defies description. Out of the pages of this book Maryknoll emerges as Father Walsh's dream come true, as his sweet, humble, humorous, capable self extended through his sons and daughters to the far places of the world. Many had a part in the development of the foreign mission movement in the United States among Catholics, prelates, priests, religious orders, but Maryknoll was the very heart of it all, because Maryknoll knew how to present the project in a way to captivate the imagination of American clergy and laity, and Father Walsh was the very soul of Maryknoll. To have thus underlined the life of Bishop Walsh for the people is, the writer believes, the great function of this book.

In a volume by no means lengthy, Mr. Sargent has displayed considerable skill in withdrawing the veils so that we might see and understand the parallel growth to maturity of the man and his dream. Through long, busy, fruitful, and uncommonly successful years, from boyhood to the threshold of glory, he shows us Father Walsh agrowing, and the American foreign missions program with him. Skillfully indeed does he present the Boston-Cambridge background and the youthful training of his hero. Nor does he fail to delight the reader with his handling of the years of seminary

training and labor as a curate in Roxbury. What gave unity to a life characterized by a singular unity of purpose was Father Walsh's interest in the foreign missions as a challenge to the zeal of American Catholics. Quite naturally, therefore, the author centers the life of the Maryknoll co-founder about this central theme. He shows us the genesis of this all-possessing interest in the foreign missions during his days at St. John's Seminary, Brighton, which ultimately led to his providential choice for the directorship of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in the Archdiocese of Boston. Then he helps us to follow Father Walsh through the years of his dreams and hopes and plans to the days of realization and fruition at the hour of his death, until the secret of Maryknoll lies revealed before us in his person.

Were the present review intended for a publication of general circulation, what has been said above might perhaps suffice. The reviewer is convinced, however, that something more should be said for the readers of this technical journal. It would be a mistake to consider this as the final complete biography of Bishop Walsh. The author would probably be among the first to acknowledge this. He has handled his materials faithfully and well, and displayed no little skill in their interpretation and presentation. Yet his work bears the inevitable mark of the writer for the general public rather than the painstaking thoroughness and exhaustive completeness of the professional historian. In almost every chapter there are a dozen avenues which, if explored to the end, would reveal more fully the influence of men and ideas upon Father Walsh and Maryknoll and he and it upon them. There is a small army of more or less shadowy personages who loom large in the life of Maryknoll and its co-founder, either as helps or hindrances, yet whose presence and influence is only hinted at, not fully explained. Then too, would not a more complete study of the writings of Father Walsh and his associates and contemporaries enable an historian to give a fuller picture of the work he accomplished, the obstacles he overcame, his literary attainments, and his spiritual life? Indeed the life work of Bishop Walsh and the key position of Maryknoll in the whole American foreign mission effort is of sufficient importance to test the metal of any first-class Catholic historian. Perhaps the passing years will find an historian of the American Catholic foreign mission effort, and from his pen will come the monumental history of the movement to which the life of Bishop Walsh would be the master key. The reviewer does not write this to disparage the work of Mr. Sargent. Such work as his is more easily done after the preliminary labors of the historian are completed. He has given us *a* life of Bishop Walsh, and a very excellent one it is, but *the* biograpy of this great American churchman and *the* history of Maryknoll still await the painstaking and exhaustive studies of some future historian.

✠ THOMAS K. GORMAN

*Reno, Nevada*

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

*English Villagers of the Thirteenth Century*. By GEORGE C. HOMANS. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 478. $4.50.)

This is an interesting book by a sociologist who has been trained in the methods of the historian in the analysis and interpretation of documentary materials, who has been given the opportunity for extended research in manuscript sources in England, and who is able to present the fruits of his labors in a truly enjoyable style. The Harvard Society of Fellows, of which the author was a Junior Fellow, the press which has given it an attractive dress, and Mr. Homans above all are to be congratulated on the result.

Dealing with villages in the wide belt stretching diagonally across England where the open-field system, which the author correctly by preference calls the champion industry, prevailed, he has made a not unsuccessful attempt to depict what he repeatedly refers to as the social order of a past epoch. The epoch is roughly the thirteenth century, chosen because of the existence of more detailed records for that period than for any earlier one, and because there was less rapidity of change in most villages than in the succeeding centuries. He is not concerned with origins or with change but with the village and its inhabitants, and their mode of life so nearly as possible in its entirety at one significant moment in history. The subject is treated in four books: fields, families, manors, and feasts. In the first and third books he has relied upon the work of experts of the past two generations somewhat more than in the second and fourth books where the treatment is more original, although the approach throughout is novel and often fascinating. He has resorted to as few mere restatements as possible, has thrown new light on established concepts, and broadened our view by making definite contributions on family life and the husbandman's year. By the use of old English words and terms he has succeeded in bringing the reader close to the villagers' point of view without appearing archaic. By frequent quotation of illustrative passages from manorial custumals and court rolls in adequate translations in the text, he has made the picture life-like, and the scholar may consult the Latin original of passages quoted which have not elsewhere been published. This reviewer has seldom seen a happier use of a literary source such as *Piers Plowman* in close conjunction with official records to fortify and illustrate a point to be made.

The historian reading the book with undoubted pleasure will nevertheless at times be brought up short. He will feel that the impression given of the degree of self-government prevalent in the champion villages savors curiously of the now abandoned Germanist views of the nineteenth century, and will seriously question the alleged connection between the thirteenth

century village and the New England town. He will have difficulty in reconciling the statement that there was no such thing as a typical manor (p. 224) with the picture drawn in the admirable pages which follow. He may fail to see that the statement, "on most manors the labor services of the tenants were worth less than the rents which they paid in money" (p. 257), is borne out by the account of the services subsequently given. He will marvel a little mournfully at the similarity the author sees between village and borough, between peasant and burgher. He cannot accept feudalism as a "verbal scheme" (p. 341), no matter how the phrase is qualified. He will be astonished at the alleged existence of fairs in "most villages" and in the parish churchyard (pp. 337, 384). He will wish to see the evidence that suicides, by implication at least, were so numerous that the dark north side of the churchyard was assigned to their bodies for burial (p. 384). Many readers will pause momentarily at references to "Catholic" worship, the "Catholic" Church, and the "Catholic" faith in England of the thirteenth century, and somewhat longer at a passing comparison of the Christian religion with "another mythology" (pp. 375, 381, 391, 398), and a still longer time when he reads the calm statement concerning the central beliefs of "Christian societies" that "we still feel uncomfortable when these subjects are discussed outside of a book of devotion" (p. 397). After that he will glide past the statement (should he glance back a few pages) that Martinmas was the beginning of Advent (p. 356).

There is no separate bibliography but the references in the notes at the end of the volume are satisfactory except in one respect: the inclusion of the date of publication of books there cited would sometimes have been enlightening when the titles given are unfamiliar. The maps and charts are very good, and the index proves to be satisfactory. The book ends with a disquisition on the anatomy of society, less interesting to the historian than to the sociologist, but anyone who picks up the volume will read it all.

EUGENE H. BYRNE

*Columbia University*

*Francis of Assisi, Apostle of Poverty.* By RAY C. PETRY. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 199, $3.00.)

Mr. Petry singles out one aspect of St. Francis' life, namely, his poverty and undertakes "to interpret the full significance which he attached to poverty" (p. vii). The most distinctive characteristic of Francis' ideal of poverty was its all-inclusiveness, demanding renunciation of things both internal and external (p. 26). The chief merit of the work, then, lies in the objective and penetrating investigation that it makes into the many-sided aspects of Francis' ideal of poverty, taken in itself.

The opening chapter deals with the teaching of Christ on poverty and renunciation, and a survey of the acceptance of this teaching in pre-Franciscan Christianity and monasticism. Against this background Francis emerges as one on fire with the ideal of attempting to put into practice "the heroic observance of poverty as lived by Christ and taught by the Gospels" (p. 18). The literal living of an absolute standard of poverty became the keynote to Francis' life and sanctity. One by one the problems involved in the application of this ideal are taken up. Mr. Petry studies the relation of poverty to life's actualities (learning, property, clothing, money, labor, mendicancy); the social problems involved in the application of poverty; the relation between the Bible and Francis' ideal of poverty; and how the belief in the "Last Times" enabled Francis and his followers in poverty to preach to mankind so to direct their lives that they might be prepared to meet the Judge and enter into the Kingdom of God.

Mr. Petry is to be commended for the analytical investigation that he has made into the ideal of poverty as enunciated and lived by St. Francis. The work is based upon the best sources and secondary works.

Although the ideal of poverty as something objective is ably treated, it seems that the author fails to understand and to appreciate sanctity in general, and the personality and sanctity of St. Francis in particular. Thus, Francis' discriminations against the flesh "partook all too often of a harsh dualism" (p. 124). In genuine Christianity or in a genuine Christian there cannot be any dualism. In the attainment of sanctity there must necessarily ensue a mortification of the body whereby impulses that militate against the imitation and following of Christ must be repressed. Over and beyond this the saints, with the image of the Crucified before them, have inflicted voluntary suffering and pain upon their bodies. Such a manner of action, however, in no way proceeds from "a harsh dualism". To ascribe it to dualism is to misunderstand and to misrepresent sanctity, and to rob the mortifications and voluntary suffering of a saint of their true value. Again, Mr. Petry says that "his (Francis') career was filled with inconsistencies, affronts to purely rational processes, and naïve attachment to absolute ideals . . ." and "the extremes of self-depreciation, bodily abuse, and neutrotic seizure to which Francis was addicted gave an unwholesome atmosphere to much of his poverty observance" (p. 164). The life of a saint like Francis is not to be judged by "purely rational processes". The norm is reason subject to God's grace, and in a life like his much is seen that contradicts the prudence of the flesh. Nonetheless, such a life is a perfectly ordered one because the interests of time and the values of the present life are dominated by the interests and values of eternity. It may not correspond to purely rational processes, but, in the final analysis, it is the highest wisdom. However, in justice to the author

it should be stated that things Catholic, for the most part, are treated with remarkable sympathy and appreciation. Exception will be taken to his opinion on the late dating of the Epistles of James and I Timothy (p. 7). Again, "selfish holiness" is not a very happy term used to describe the sanctity of the contemplative life in contradistinction to the sanctity that comprises an active apostolate or "social usefulness" (p. 54).

It is unfortunate that the above-mentioned opinions on St. Francis mar such a thorough study of his ideal of poverty. However, anyone interested in St. Francis or in this period of mediaeval history will profit much by a reading of the book. The work is greatly enhanced by its attractive format, the accuracy of printing, a very complete bibliography, and a generous index.

ALFRED C. RUSH

*Catholic University of America*

*When Painting Was in Glory, 1280-1580.* By PADRAIC GREGORY. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1941. Pp. xiv, 275. $3.75.)

*When Painting Was in Glory* is an attempt to combine the telling of the story of Italian painting from Giotto to Titian with a demonstration of the thesis that "Italian painting progressed and rose nobly when God and the things of God were the be-all and end-all of its existence" (p. 108).

The position of Giotto in renouncing Byzantinism for nature is properly appreciated; but Mr. Gregory's reference to Dante in this connection is not quite accurate. There is nothing in *Purgatorio* XI to warrant the statement that Giotto is there "called the reviver of painting, because he broke loose from Byzantinism and took nature for his guide" (p. 37). The nearest Dante comes to any mention of "nature for a guide" is in *Purgatorio* XXIV, where he is speaking not of painting but of writers of the *dolce stil nuovo*, whose pens "di retro al dittator sen vanno strette." The "close connection between the successors of Duccio and Giotto and eminent contemporary theologians" is illustrated from works of Orcagna and Simone Martini; but it is somewhat of an over-statement to say that "the ideas and mode of treatment were *all* suggested by Fra Jacobi Passavanti" (p. 56); nor is it altogether certain that Simone Martini was, in fact, the painter of the frescoes in the Cappella degli Spagnuoli of Santa Maria Novella.

The chapter on "Three Great Florentines, Botticelli, Filippino Lippi and Ghirlandaio" (pp. 84-101) presents Mr. Gregory's thesis in a strong light; but here again an appeal to Dante is unfortunate: there is no "Baptistery of S. Miniato . . . mentioned by Dante". *L'antico Batisteo* is quite a different thing from San Miniato, "la chiesa che soggioga la ben guidata sopra Rubaconte." It is regrettable, too, that the proofreader of this

chapter allowed the ugly misspelling "Tornabnoni" to appear twice on the same page. The account of the followers of the Lorenzetti, Sassatta, Domenico di Bartolo, Vecchietta, Sodoma, and others appears to confirm Mr. Gregory's thesis. And the same may be said of the chapters on Umbrian art from Gentile da Fabriano to Perugino and on Umbro-Florentine and Umbro-Romagnolo painters (Pietro della Francesca, Mellozzo da Forlì, and Giovanni Santi).

However, in the chapter on "The Greatest Umbrian of Them All, Raphael," the oversimplified "God . . . the be-all and end-all" as a formula of Christian art, is sufficiently modified to take in the realities of the history of Renaissance art:

> The meeting and mixture of deep religious fervour with classic Grecian beauty and an accurate study of nature had given mankind the art of Fra Angelico and Masaccio—the art of one who had painted angels and saints whose bodies seemed to be transfused with the light of their souls, and the art of the other who, as Villari so impressively says "wrapped his majestic figures in noble broad-folded draperies recalling the toga and chlamys of ancient statuary." And now the way was prepared for the coming of Leonardo, in whose works were to be revealed "a degree of perfection in which are summed up all the knowledge acquired by two centuries of Florentine painters added to his own unapproached knowledge of the effects of light," and a superior genius, capable of giving organic unity to the work already accomplished by the national spirit and of leading it to a definite goal (pp. 159-60).

A similar acknowledgement that Christian art is not a circle with faith as its single center, but rather an ellipse with the twofold foci of faith and nature, is made in the chapter on "The Greatest Florentine of Them All, Michelangelo":

> Hence, his art is the expression of two probing centuries of experiment, research and discovery, of sustained effort, classical learning, and direct study of nature, two centuries in which all the problems of form and movement—from those which confronted Giotto at Assisi to those so successfully solved by Signorelli at Orvieto—find their highest development (p. 193).

On the other hand, Mr. Gregory seems to rule out Michelangelo from the guild of genuine Christian artists:

> Michelangelo has supplanted Angelico's supernaturalism with a naturalism of his own. . . . we are tempted to ask ourselves whether Christian art may not have suffered, when it consented to take its inspiration from no higher source than that which moved the genius

of the Greek artists in the delineation of pagan divinities, and when nature was made the standard of ideals that were *above* nature (p. 198).

Mr. Gregory's real hero is Gian Bellini:

> There is definitely no Italian painter whose achievements in the field of sacred art can vie with his. His faith was as fervent and his spiritual insight was as keen as Fra Angelico's, and his style was gradually developed until he attained that perfect harmony of drawing, perspective, drapery, light, and colour, sought in vain by many of his predecessors and never surpassed by his most famous successors (p. 242).

In spite of certain historical inaccuracies and the failure to maintain a consistent conception of the relation of religion to art *When Painting Was in Glory* remains a useful introduction to the study of Renaissance Italian painting.

GERALD G. WALSH

*Fordham University*

## MODERN HISTORY

*Catherine of Aragon.* By GARRETT MATTINGLY. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1941. Pp. 477. $3.50.)

Students of the sixteenth century will find in this biography a real contribution. The author has made use of all the documents available; he has shown great independence and understanding in the interpretation of the documents, and in addition he has written in a beautiful and captivating style. Catherine's loyalty to Henry, in spite of his moral turpitude, will be something difficult for some of the moderns to understand. Her loyalty to the Church, made exceedingly difficult because of the compromising attitude of some of the outstanding churchmen of the time, was really heroic. Her refusal to allow statesmen to play politics with her misfortune is an irrefutable proof of her patriotism.

Mattingly naturally takes up the question of when Henry first conceived the idea of a divorce. He takes issue with Professor Pollard, who maintains that the king thought of it in 1514 (p. 168). He leaves Pollard's position quite untenable. Mattingly could further have added in refutation that Pollard placed entirely too much emphasis on the fact that Henry was generous to the papal legate, Campeggio, in 1517 and that therefore Henry was thinking of the divorce. Henry was generous to Campeggio in order to offset the fact that he had refused to accede to Leo X's request for crusade money to be used against the Turk. Henry did not want to drive the pope into the camp of his opponents by his refusal. Why not show him his good will by these gifts? Again, it was customary to give

departing legates gifts. To put the whole affair on the lowest possible level, Henry could have had in mind the possibility that this man might be of service to him in Rome at some future time. It was good politics to have a friend at court. As a matter of fact, this is precisely what happened. Ten years later, when the divorce question did come up and Wolsey was looking for a suitable person to act in the capacity of the Pope's representative at the trial, he immediately thought of Campeggio. Mr. Mattingly very correctly states that Wolsey wanted him because the king had been generous to him in the past (p. 265), and he might have added that Wolsey wanted him because "he was learned, indifferent, and tractable." (*L. & P. Henry VIII*, IV, 44). Mattingly is too generous in his evaluation of Campeggio when he says, "he was a veteran diplomat whose patience, dignity and tact had been successful in difficult negotiations where flashier qualities had failed" (p. 265). The great mission of Campeggio had been that of bringing about a rapprochement between Luther and the Church, and in this he failed.

Would Clement VII have granted Henry the divorce if Charles V, the nephew of Catherine, had not been so menacingly powerful? Mattingly has drawn up a very minute and scholarly trend of facts to show that the decision might have been otherwise if she had not been the aunt of the emperor and if Charles had not been so victorious (pp. 249, 259, 263, 266, 288). On the surface of things, it does appear that Clement VII would have granted the annulment. In refutation of this position, however, there is the letter written to Vincent Casale by Sir Gregory Casle in which he says, "I hear that you have told Wolsey that if the Pope's fears were removed he would do anything, *licita et illicita*. But if you remember I told you that the Pope would do all that could be done; for there are many things which the Pope says he cannot do. If the Pope's fears were altogether removed from him, he will never do what we should want of him" (*L. & P. Henry VIII*, IV, No. 5302). It is interesting to note also that such an eminent authority as Pastor says that entirely too much emphasis has been placed upon the powerful position of the emperor in helping to determine the mind of the pope on the divorce question.

Students of the famous divorce case know of the three attempts made by Wolsey and Campeggio to persuade Catherine to enter a convent (p. 270.) One will search in vain to find out from any books written on this period, either lay or ecclesiastical, the reasons why this would have solved the problem. If Catherine had consented to enter the convent, would the divorce have been granted? It seems that it would. Campeggio and Wolsey would not be wasting their time, if there were not some reasons for their efforts. The reviewer's own interpretation is that if Catherine would have entered the convent, she would thereby have abandoned her rights. It would have made it easier for the judges at the trial to take

advantage of some "technicality" or other. Again, if she retired quietly into a nunnery, Charles V would have no reason to be threatening the pope with an invasion if he granted the annulment. The English people were sympathetic with Catherine; they were furious at Campeggio and Wolsey. The position of Wolsey would have been helped politically by showing that even Catherine recognized the invalidity of her marriage. Wolsey had to pay dearly because of her courage and steadfastness.

Mattingly's portrayals of Cromwell, Cranmer, Henry, Charles V, Ferdinand, and Isabella are superb. Finally there are a beautiful portrait of Catherine on the inside cover, genealogical tables, and nearly thirty pages of bibliographical notes.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

*Loyola University*
*Chicago*

*The Jesuits in History. The Society of Jesus through Four Centuries.* By MARTIN P. HARNEY, S.J., M.A., Professor of the History of the Reformation, Boston College. (New York: America Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 513. $4.00.)

And now, as if to bring the stream of publications on the Society of Jesus at the occasion of the quadricentennial of its confirmation by the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (September 7, 1540) to a climax, comes Professor Harney with an encyclopaedic account in one volume covering the entire history of the Jesuits. He is to be congratulated on producing a book so sane, sound, and useful. On every page we feel the hand of a scholar who with steady devotion to research has acquired a ready familiarity with a vast mass of literature some of which is presented in footnotes, the rest in a select bibliography at the close of the book.

This book is particularly welcome because it easily competes with other accounts of the Society which—as, for example, John Addington Symonds' *The Catholic Reaction*—fail to comprehend the spirituality of St. Ignatius and succeed pretty well in misunderstanding and so in misrepresenting the Society's history as a whole or in part. The personal equation usually bulks heavily with writers like Isaac Taylor, Albert Steinmetz, and Joseph McCabe. And then there are, for example, the statements made in our press at the time of the recent civil war in Spain about how the Jesuits had gotten into their hands much of the wealth of Spain—that they owned banks, railroads, and other businesses, including the fish business of Madrid!

But in Professor Harney's book the reader will find an accurate presentation of such accusations as well as points which are not well understood or are commonly misrepresented. Among such are: the character of St. Ignatius; the relation of the *Exercises* to mediaeval spirituality—especially the *Imitation of Christ;* the alleged military character of Jesuit ideals and

organization; the question of "blind obedience"; the misinterpretation of the phrase *obligare ad peccatum;* the legend of the "Black Pope"; the "approval" of the order by the Council of Trent; that Laynez, not Ignatius, was the author of the *Exercises;* that the *Exercises* as well as the organization of the Society derived from Moslem antecedents; "secret Jesuits" and "secret instructions"; the opposition of Gallicanism to the Society; the aspersions of Lutherans and other reformers; the implications of Molinism; responsibility for Ravaillac's assassination of Henry IV; the sources of the *Ratio Studiorum;* the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay; the question of probabilism; the crisis of Jansenism; the attacks by Pascal in his *Provincial Letters;* the accusations by Quesnal; "Jesuit Pride"; the Gallicanism of the court of Louis XIV; the unfortunate activities of Antoine Valette; the suppression of the Society in 1773 by Clement XIV—told in a particularly moving chapter; the asserted poisoning of Clement XIV and finally, the restoration of the Society in 1814.

The book is a stirring account of great successes and poignant reverses, all thrown into high relief by martyrdom. It contains much specific information of the present resources of the Society. Henceforth, it is to be hoped, none of us will repeat the traditional canards and prejudicial statements which have disfigured so many accounts of the Jesuits. Considering its many solid virtues and its encyclopaedic character, Professor Harney's book is indispensable for all libraries and all students of history.

*University of Washington* HENRY S. LUCAS

*The Cambridge History of Poland. From Augustus II to Pilsudski, 1697-1935.* Edited by W. F. REDDAWAY, J. H. PENSON, O. HALECKI, and R. DYBOSKI. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xvi, 630. $7.50.)

A warm welcome should be accorded this scholarly and long hoped for volume. Though the publication of the first part of this history, planned in two volumes, had to be delayed because of interruption caused by the war, the second part, which is the history of "the decline, the servitude, and the rebirth of Poland" has been published separately. The volume, consisting of twenty-five chapters, written by twenty-one authors, is an entirely competent work. The contributors have been drawn from a wide field. They represent English, Polish, and American scholarship, and, although all are not professional historians, their names are guarantees of serious research in the particular phases or periods of which they have written. Effort has been made to give an exhaustive study of Poland from 1697 to 1935. The system of joint authorship might be objected to on the grounds of duplication, which, though reduced to a minimum, has not been altogether eliminated. On the other hand the arrangement of the work according to essay topics makes it available for reference.

In the short space of this review it is difficult to dwell upon detailed features of the work. The essay on the constitution of Poland previous to the partitions is a clear and concise exposition of the peculiar status of Poland at the time the formal narrative begins, and as such it is especially valuable. The first two chapters on the Saxon reigns acquaint the reader with all those forces of internal disintegration and foreign intrigue which had already begun to assume definitely ominous shape in the seventeenth century and were to bring about the downfall of Poland a century later. Particularly interesting and informative are the chapters on the partitions. That complex of political intrigue, diplomatic bargaining, rival feuds, and forced interventions that were the background of those acts of brigandage called the partitions has been well analyzed and presented.

Despite the agreement of the partitioning powers " to abolish everything which might recall the remembrance of the existence of the Kingdom of Poland ", the Polish problem called attention to itself in every subsequent European movement or crisis. While the emigrant Polish officers and soldiers went into almost every battlefield of Europe with the purpose of keeping alive their cause and winning support for it, citizens in the three sectors sought to solve their problems by uprisings at one time or by quiet " thinking and achieving " at another. The ideals heralded by the literature of the emigration helped to foster the spirit of tenacity in Polish nationalism, which finally emerged out of the welter of World War events and policies in the form of a united and free state. This dramatic story of the life and struggle of subjugated Poland occupies the major portion of the volume. It is presented in all its aspects, political, military, economic, and cultural. Achievements and failures, merits and defects are all described in a spirit of complete detachment. Wherever possible, events are set in the frame of European affairs of the time. Regarding the last chapter on Pilsudski, the reader will undoubtedly agree with the author that we are still too close to the man to evaluate him or his period in true perspective.

Errors in the work are neither many nor important, e. g., *electio viritim* appears incorrectly as *electio virilim* (pp. 52, 59); Hauyssan should be Huyssen (p. 47); ethnographically Lithuania is erroneously identified with White Russia (p. 522), though on the following page the two regions are rightly distinguished. It is doubtful whether there is material enough for such an analogy between Poland and France as has been attempted on pages 208-209. Radical ideas found a response in Poland at the time, but the situations in the two countries were totally different. On the whole the work represents a creditable achievement. Its value is increased by three good maps illustrating the partitions, the Congress Kingdom, and restored Poland.

SISTER M. NEOMISIA

*Catholic University of America*

*Torch and Crucible, The Life and Death of Antoine Lavoisier.* By SIDNEY J. FRENCH. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 285. $3.50.)

The career of Antoine Lavoisier fits perfectly into the pattern of eighteenth century French thought and action. His ancestors were postillions for the king. They married into the merchant class, branched out into law, and with a comfortable family fortune they could afford to permit Antoine to follow his avocation of science. Antoine proved to be more than a dilettante. His interest in science was that of an earnest worker who sought to apply the concrete results of his work for the good of society. At a time when Priestley was describing his experiments as "charming", "delightful", etc., Lavoisier with the use of the chemical balance and a carefully thought out series of experiments, was fitting Priestley's discoveries into a connected chain which disproved the phlogiston theory and began chemistry as a modern science. Lavoisier's contribution was his ability to synthesize the discoveries of such men as Black, Cavendish, Priestley, and Boyle.

Lavoisier's influence upon the modern world, however, does not stop with his work on the discovery of oxygen. Like Priestley, he had a wide interest strongly tinged with humanitarianism. Lavoisier mingled with the Physiocrats and agitated for political reforms. His connection with Turgot resulted in his appointment to the Arsenal, where Lavoisier's effort in producing a better gunpowder resulted in the production of a powder with better long-range effects. It was this improved French powder shipped to America which helped our own American revolutionaries. Irenée du Pont served his apprenticeship under Lavoisier and when he later migrated to America he named the first great powder mill in America, Lavoisier Mill. Like many eighteenth century reformers, Lavoisier did not believe that either his philosophy or his scientific work would lead to violence. He saw no great connection between his scientific work and the new philosophy which tended more and more to explain the universe and man in mechanistic terms. He rebuked his friend Condorcet for devoting too little time to his field, mathematics, and too much to his avocation, philosophy. When the revolution finally broke out, Lavoisier, bewildered at the signs of violence, did his best to keep large supplies of his improved powder from falling into the hands of the mob. His idea of a revolution was one of reform handed down from above by intelligent people of the upper classes. Revolutions, however, have the unfortunate habit of turning against the humanitarians who lay the background for them. Intellectuals such as Lavoisier often have a difficult time. As Coffenhal said when Lavoisier's accomplishments were explained before the Public Tribunal, "The Republic has no need for scientists, let justice take its course." Yet the Republicans were most anxious to confiscate his papers on the metric system, and history attests to the fact that they put his powder to most

efficient use. What Coffenhal meant to say was that the revolution had no need for clear and precise thinkers.

Professor French has done a magnificent job. His style is fluid and his command of the historical and philosophical background as well as his sane judgment in placing Lavoisier in his proper place in the field of chemistry deserve a wide circle of readers. It is to be hoped that with his equipment and approach he will undertake similar studies of such men as Priestley. The real scientists of the eighteenth century and their influence upon revolutionary thought have been neglected too long.

*College of New Rochelle* JAMES M. EAGAN

*The Fall of the Napoleonic Kingdom of Italy (1814)*. By R. JOHN RATH, Ph.D. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 247. $3.00.)

On March 17, 1861, a new kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, and Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia took the new title of king of Italy. Just fifty-six years before, to the day, another kingdom of Italy had come into existence, with Napoleon I, Emperor of the French, assuming the added title of king of Italy. The kingdom was re-established in 1861 because its predecessor had collapsed in the downfall of Napoleon in 1813-14. The story of that collapse is the theme of Dr. Rath's book.

Many Italians had found deep satisfaction for their nationalist aspirations in Napoleon's kingdom of Italy in 1805. Of course it did not embrace the entire peninsula, nor all Italians, but at least it was a beginning. As time went on, however, this first satisfaction was lessened as Napoleon's new subjects came to realize that their king's chief interest was not his new kingdom, but his empire, for the benefit of which he stripped northern Italy of men, money, and treasure. Hence, as Napoleon's world began to topple in 1813, his adherents were the smallest of the several factions into which the people of the kingdom naturally divided.

Far more important was the so-called Austrian party which hoped—and worked—for the return of Austrian control over Lombardy and the transfer to the Hapsburgs of Venetia also. Another group, the so-called pure Italian, desired to establish a government independent of all foreign control. These patriots were divided among themselves; some supported the ambitions of Joachim Murat to rule a united Italy; others planned to secure Austrian protection by selecting a Hapsburg as king; still others looked to England and thought of offering the crown to the duke of Clarence, third son of George III.

The complicated diplomacy of the Great Powers and the constant intrigues of the Italian factions which eventually led to the triumph of the Austrian party, are presented with admirable clarity by the author. He has based his story on extensive research in state and private archives in

Milan, Venice, and Vienna, as well as on wide reading in the printed literature of the period. The book is provided with reproductions of two useful maps (one published originally in 1817) and with a comprehensive index. Dr. Rath has added a worth-while volume to the growing literature on nineteenth century Italy.

JOSEPH H. BRADY

*Seton Hall College*

AMERICAN HISTORY

*Dictionary of American History*. Five Volumes and Index Volume. JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS, Editor in Chief; R. V. COLEMAN, Managing Editor. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. Pp. xi, 444; 430; 432; 512; 515; viii, 258. $60.00 a Set.)

One is inclined to believe that the appearance of the *Dictionary of American History* following so soon after the splendid *Dictionary of American Biography*, gives striking testimony to the fact that American historical scholarship has indeed reached a state of fruitful maturity. It also prompts the hope that the day may not be too far distant when we may have an up-to-date and comprehensive bibliography of American history and its archival sources.

The *Dictionary* under review is the co-operative accomplishment of over a thousand historians working under the supervision of the Editor in Chief, Managing Editor, and an Advisory Council of seventeen specialists. The work contains 6,425 separate articles, and in cases where material overlaps indication is given by the use of convenient symbols that other articles carry pertinent material to the subject in question. The articles vary, of course, in length, e. g., the twelve separate articles on phases of the Civil War occupy roughly ten full pages of double columns (I, 383-393) while the Ku Klux Klan gets a little over a single column (III, 217-218). In so far as possible the writing of the individual articles has been assigned in each case to a specialist in the field, and in practically all instances the articles have been furnished with at least one bibliographical reference and in some cases five or six bibliographical items have been added.

It is not easy to overestimate the value which this *Dictionary* will have for all students of our national story. Scholars will make it a standard work of quick reference, and librarians, teachers, and students of all levels of educational background will find it a daily aid in their work. Readers of this journal will be particularly interested in the manner in which items relating to the history of the Church in this country are handled. General religious history was represented in the Advisory Council by Professor William W. Sweet of the University of Chicago and the editorial staff had the counsel of Professor Peter Guiday of the Catholic University of America for matters concerning articles on the history of the Catholic Church.

Monsignor Guilday himself wrote the article on "Catholicism in the United States" (I, 323-324), as well as those on "Americanism" (I, 67), "Baltimore Councils, Provincial and Plenary" (I, 151), and on the "Congregation de Propaganda Fide" (II, 16). Other contributors whose names are familiar to readers of the REVIEW are Monsignor Humphrey Moynihan, who wrote the article on the "Faribault Plan," of Archbishop Ireland (II, 244), Sister Mary Borgias, S.N.D. of Notre Dame College, South Euclid, Ohio, the article on the "Company of One Hundred Associates" (I, 442). Professor Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., of Loyola University, Chicago, has written twelve sketches dealing mostly with the missions of the mid-western regions of the United States as well as one on the Jesuits (III, 175-176) and one on the "Spanish Inquisition," (III, 124-125). "The Paulists" have been handled by Father Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P., (IV, 226), and the Holy Cross Fathers by Professor Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. (III, 40). Father McAvoy also wrote the articles on the "Eucharistic Congress at Chicago" in 1926 (II, 229) and on the "Pokagon Village" (IV, 292). Eleven articles dealing in the main with the mission history of the Southwest were written by Father Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., of the Catholic University of America. The Reverend Alfred G. Stritch of St. Gregory Seminary, Cincinnati wrote the sketch on the "Bedini Riots," (I, 173), Dr. Dorothy Penn of St. Mary College, Leavenworth, on "Bourgmont's Explorations, 1706-1724," (I, 229-230). Professor Richard J. Purcell of the Catholic University of America contributed seven articles, among them those on "Irish Immigration" (III, 153-155), the "Immigration Act of 1924" (III, 75-76), and that on the Dominican Order in the United States (II, 159-160).

Since the work of competent biographical sketches has been so recently treated at length in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, biographies as such were not included in the present *Dictionary*. For example, Archbishop Ireland receives mention only by virtue of the Faribault Plan (II, 244), whereas Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Hughes, Bishops England and Flaget are not mentioned in any connection. One might expect that Gibbons would find mention for his defense of the Knights of Labor or Hughes for his part in the New York school question and the draft riots during the Civil War. The Carrolls, to be sure, are included, as the signers of the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution, and the first bishop of the United States. Catholic readers will note as well the satisfactory sketches of the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Paulists and Holy Cross Fathers but they will search in vain for any information on the Marists, Redemptorists, Carmelites, Augustinians and other religious orders which contributed much to the history of the Church in America. While the delicate question of "Americanism" is well handled by Professor Guilday, no mention is found of the important issue of Trusteeism within the Church in this country in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The parochial schools likewise are mentioned only in connection with the Oregon case of 1925 (IV, 184). This reviewer likewise believes that short sketches of the older and historic Catholic institutions such as Georgetown University and Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg could well appear.

Despite the criticisms made above and the question of omissions and inclusions, which is always a difficult one, the *Dictionary* succeeds admirably in fulfilling in the main the purpose for which it was intended. The editors and contributors have placed the entire American reading public in their debt and the *Dictionary* will serve all classes of readers as a reliable guide to factual data on the events, institutions, and social customs which have played their part, great or small, in making America what it is.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

*Catholic University of America*

*The Indiana Company, 1763-1798. A Study in Eighteenth Century Frontier Land Speculation and Business Venture.* By GEORGE E. LEWIS. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1941. Pp. 358. $6.00.)

The story of land speculation in North America during the latter part of the eighteenth century gives more than passing value to the contention of the Turner school that the existence of free land did at least condition the development of the country. Nevertheless, the story of the Indiana Company, as related by Dr. Lewis, would indicate that the influence of this land speculation was not so great as some historians would have us think. It is one thing to ignore completely the influence of speculators in western lands, as some of the earlier historians were inclined to do, and another thing to give this land speculation a major role. The true perspective lies probably between the two extremes.

In so far as the present story runs from the pre-Revolutionary and through the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods, it affords the investigator an opportunity to apply the rule of difference as well as the rule of agreement before making his induction on the place of the land speculator in the War for American Independence. One of the most interesting generalizations resulting from this narrative, which includes many historically important names, concerns the apparent indifference of the speculators as to the government with which they were doing business. This was probably true of all the land companies of the period from 1763 to 1800. The Indiana Company does seem to differ from several other companies in the fact that its capital was supplied almost entirely by Americans. Yet even here, one notes that the feeling of the Virginians against these potential usurpers of the western lands was not the less violent because they came from the neighboring state of Pennsylvania.

The conditions governing these early land speculations are well emphasized in Dr. Lewis's narrative. Considering the great expense necessary

to present their claims to the crown or to the Congress, a rather large amount of capital was necessary to make their speculations possible. There is a close similarity in this to present-day corporation business. On that basis the grand extent of these proposed land grants is more easily understood. The rather shadowy claims in later times on congressional subsidies were thus well in accordance with early American traditions. The general disregard of the real frontier people, the rugged pioneer whom we might better regard as the true American, does not speak very highly of the democracy or patriotism of the speculators. Dr. Lewis treads gently in discussing the probably unfair means used in this early land speculation, but at times he indicates that some were used, and that others might have been had the occasion been offered. However, despite these faults, a proper recognition can be given that the Morgans, the Whartons, and the Trents were the type of enterprising business men dealing in the capitalistic ventures of their day who have fostered so much of our national progress.

The diplomatic story of the Indiana Company is so well told and the correspondence and official notes have been so carefully sifted by Dr. Lewis that one hesitates to find any fault with his account. But when one remembers the generalizations that have been made on the effect of these land speculations on the American Revolution, the lack of any discussion of the relation between the speculators and the causes of the Revolution is a rather important defect. This whole speculation did not really get much beyond the paper stage, and the Indiana and Vandalia Companies did not exist much more than on the map of the speculators, yet they were real to the individual speculators, to the governments of the times, and to Virginia. They functioned as motives for action and speculation and consequently the full story must have many more connections with the political, social, and economic story of the period than Dr. Lewis has brought out. Perhaps one should not ask for the complete treatment in this one study, but since the author has not indicated that he intended to exclude these other matters, he can fairly be held responsible for their absence. The binding and printing of the volume is done in the excellent style of the Clark tradition. However, the failure to capitalize the names of the months is a noticeable departure that might cause some confusion.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

*University of Notre Dame*

LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

*The Defenses of Spanish Florida, 1565 to 1763.* By VERNE E. CHATELAIN. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1941. Publications 511. Pp. vii, 192. $2.25 paper; $2.75 cloth.)

In this illuminating monograph Dr. Chatelain has singled out for special study the history, character, and importance of the fortifications of St.

Augustine during the period of Spanish rule. After a brief but adequate Introduction, the evolution of the defense system is traced under the following captions: The Defense of Spanish Florida: Basic Problems; Early Defenses at St. Augustine; Defenses of St. Augustine, 1570-1660; The Building of the Castillo de San Marcos; The Completion of the Defenses of Spanish Florida. The discussion is followed by a bibliography, copious notes (constituting about one half of the printed matter in the volume), an index, photographs of eighteen original sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth century maps, and four maps specially drawn under the direction of the author to illustrate the study.

The story of the long drawn out efforts on the part of the military authorities to obtain sufficient royal support to defend Florida adequately, both by sea and by land, a work given impetus by every serious enemy threat or attack on the region, and the final completion of a relatively formidable defense system in the eighteenth century, is ably set forth by the author.

It is hoped that this monograph will lead to the writing of other similar ones on the history of each of a number of other key presidios, or military garrisons, on the northern frontier of colonial New Spain. The Library of Congress and other archival collections in the United States itself, now have adequate documentary materials in film and photostat form to make possible a number of other necessary special studies of this type; studies which in the not too distant future will make possible the writing of an adequate general survey of the northern advance of Spain into North America in the colonial period from the point of view of an advancing military frontier. The need at present is for more specialized studies of individual presidios, like the present one. Such investigations would further clarify many details in the history of the advance of the northern frontier of colonial New Spain, to complement the monographs on the spread of the missions, the advance of settlement, etc. Those interested in knowing more about this particular phase of Spanish American frontier policy will find Dr. Chatelain's study very useful. It is well documented, and the last map, Map 22, carefully worked out to illustrate the text, is a model of its kind, and is in itself a contribution.

A few minor criticisms could be made, none of which detract from the excellence of the work. In preparing the Introduction, Félix Zubillaga's *La Florida, La Misión Jesuítica (1566-1572) y La Colonización Española*, (Rome, 1941), could have been used to advantage along with the other printed works cited.

J. Manuel Espinosa

*Loyola University*
*Chicago*

*Notas historicas sobre as missões carmelitanas no extremo norte do Brasil seculos XVII e XVIII.* By Fr. André Prat, O. Carm. (Recife, Brazil: Convento do Carmo. 1941. Pp. 328.)

This well-illustrated book on the Carmelite missions of northern Brazil during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will come as a pleasant surprise to the many students of Brazilian history who have thought of the achievements of the Church in Portuguese America very largely in terms of the Society of Jesus. The role of the Jesuits was tremendously, even fundamentally, important for the development of Brazil; but it is well to remember that the vineyard of the Lord was not cultivated exclusively by a single order or congregation.

In his Introduction, the author calls the book an "unworthy bouquet of wild, but aromatic, flowers found scattered and forgotten in the formerly celebrated and exuberant Carmelite Garden" of Brazil. He further describes it as "a collection of interesting historical facts found dispersed in chronicles, reviews, notes, manuscripts, and in several unpublished documents." The pity is that the author should have found himself obliged to follow his words so literally; for he has given us, in effect, not an integrated history which the achievements of the Carmelites in Brazil eminently demand, but an impressive string of quotations from primary and secondary sources.

The book suffers from poor organization and bulges with badly digested facts. If you would know something about the sixteenth century origins of the Carmelites in Brazil, the establishment of their first missions, their catechetical activities in the immense Amazon region (one of their crowns of glory), the descriptions of the various missions founded by them, the vicariate of Maranhão and Pará, and the lives of many a worthy Carmelite religious, Frei André's work may be consulted with profit. But the reader should not expect to find an engrossing narrative, nor should he look for a broad view of the subject discussed. To use a hackneyed expression, the author seems to have lost sight of the forest for the trees; and the uninitiated reader, in particular, will wade through the text only with the greatest of effort.

Nevertheless, despite its faults, students of Brazilian church history will want to have this work for ready reference. It is a mine of information, crying to be used by some future historian of the Carmelite order. Perhaps some day the material which Frei André has so patiently collected will blossom forth in a more interpretative study. Let the task be urged on the Carmelite scholars of Brazil; their garden of "wild, but aromatic, flowers", in the poetic words of the author, is well worthy of being cultivated.

Manoel S. Cardozo

*Catholic University of America*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Reverend Frederick E. Welfle, S.J., professor of history and head of the department at John Carroll University in Cleveland has been named to the board of advisory editors of the REVIEW. Father Welfle received his doctorate at Ohio State University. His dissertation was entitled: "The Jacobean Priests, 1603-1625".

Dr. James J. Walsh died on February 28 at the age of seventy-six. He was President of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1921 and on several occasions presented papers at the annual meetings. Dr. Walsh's genius was remarkably versatile. Distinguished in his own science of medicine, he wrote and lectured in philosophy and history as well. His historical writings reached out into many fields. He constantly called attention to the contribution of the Church to civilization, and stirred up wide interest in history in Catholic circles here in America. If his enthusiasm at times betrayed him as he wrote, he nevertheless served the cause of history well. His influence has been great and he richly deserved the honors that were showered upon him as one of the most distinguished Catholic laymen in America.

Miss Anna M. McGowan died on Saturday, December 27, 1941 in Philadelphia. She was corresponding secretary of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for more than forty years and acted in an unofficial capacity for the Society even before 1894. She was an authority on the Catholic history of Philadelphia.

The Reverend John T. Gillard, S.S.J., died on January 13 in Baltimore. He was a leading authority on the work of the Church among the Negroes in this country. He wrote numerous articles and pamphlets and was the author of two books on this subject. From 1928 until his death he served as editor of *The Colored Harvest*, a mission magazine.

On January 31 the Reverend Adolphe Arthur Vaschalde, S.T.L., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic and Egyptian Languages and Literatures at the Catholic University of America, retired, died in Toronto, Canada at the age of seventy. With the death of Dr. Vaschalde, the Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, published jointly by the Catholic University of America and the Catholic University of Louvain, lost one of its most active collaborators. From the formation in 1903 of this important vehicle for publishing in text and translation the Christian literatures of the Near

East, Professor Vaschalde was counted on as a contributor for the Syriac sources. His doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University, published in 1902, was a preparation for such work, being an edition with translation and historico-biographical introduction of three unpublished letters of Philoxenus of Mabbug (Hierapolis) in Syria (d. 519). This work was directed by the late Professor Henri Hyvernat, and actively encouraged by the late Professor Ignazio Guidi of Rome, a co-founder with Msgr. Hyvernat and Msgr. J.-B. Chabot, Membre de l'Institut de France, of the C.S.C.O. The letters of Philoxenus were doctrinal in character, a Syriac-language manifestation of the Monophysite teaching of the period; an analysis of their Christological doctrine accompanied the publication. In 1907, three treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation, longer and more systematic than the letters, by the same Philoxenus, were published and translated by Father Vaschalde in separate volumes of the Oriental Corpus. Using to advantage his knowledge of the Syriac terminology employed in the intricate Christological controversies, he next published and furnished the Latin translation for the *Liber de Unione* of Babai. This Nestorian writer, Babai surnamed " the Great," was the central figure in the government of his sect during the reign of Chosroes II of Persia, before the year A. D. 628; his treatise represents an important witness to the dogmatic teaching of his people after the heresy had crystallized. Dr. Vaschalde also translated for the C.S.C.O. the treatise on the Hexaemeron of James of Edessa (d. 708). At the time of his death he was awaiting the opportunity to see through the press the final volumes of his edition and translation of the commentary on the Gospels by Dionysius bar Salibi, Monophysite metropolitan of Amid (d. 1171). Of this, it is the volumes on St. John that remain in manuscript. Text and translation for St. Matthew chapters 21-28 (completing the work of an earlier editor) and St. Mark had appeared in 1931-33; the volumes on St. Luke were in print or in final page proof in Paris at the time of the German occupation of that city. In the field of Coptic, Father Vaschalde furnished one of the most indispensable tools for the research scholar with his series of articles " Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible," appearing in the *Revue Biblique* and later in *Le Muséon*. The extremely scattered and fragmentary publications of Coptic biblical texts in each of the several dialects are indicated for every chapter and verse of the Bible, with a reference to the manuscript evidence on which publication was based. Several volumes of Coptic material prepared by Dr. Vaschalde for publication in the C.S.C.O. remain in manuscript at present. From 1930 on, the direction of the Coptic section of the C.S.C.O. had been assigned to him.

Father Vaschalde's death brought to a close an association with the Catholic University that began in 1893. First as a student and then as a faculty member, he devoted thirty-five years of his life to study and

publication in the Christian literatures of the Near East, before his retirement because of failing health in 1939. In the meantime he had endeared himself to those who came to know him well by an unfailing habit of kindliness toward all with whom he dealt, and all of whom he spoke. He had the directness and candor which accompany a devotion to truth, and which flow from the highest Christian ideals. Evidences of shoddy scholarship, false principles, or deliberate wrongdoing always provoked in him deep indignation; yet nothing caused him more evident distress than the necessity for pronouncing an unfavorable judgment on the persons involved. On the other hand his gift for finding out worthy qualities for praise, and for seeing and appreciating real values which others might take for granted or pass over, was consistently refreshing.

The *American Historical Review* for January contains extended obituary notices of the following: Robert B. Mowat, William Henry Allison, Charles Downer Hazen, James Westfall Thompson, and George H. Ryden.

The *Second Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States as to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library* has recently appeared (National Archives Publication, No. 19). It gives in detail all the materials received during the year. These include: papers of the President concerning his activities as leader of the Democratic party, as Governor of New York State, and as President; printed materials, books from the President's own library, and a large number of publications put out by the Government. The museum section of the library received 1,850 objects, the greater part of which were gifts to the President.

A *Survey of the Manuscript Collections in the New York Historical Society* compiled by Miss Susan E. Lyman, curator of manuscripts for the Society, has just been published. The Society has been collecting papers and documents since its founding in 1804 and now has about 3,500 bound volumes and approximately 250,000 single manuscripts. The *Survey* is primarily a list of persons and places, with some subjects, arranged alphabetically as the manuscripts are shelved in the stacks. The price is $1.00.

The *Guide to the Manuscript Collections in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission* is ready for distribution. A copy may be secured by sending twenty-five cents in postage to C. C. Crittenden, Secretary, The North Carolina Historical Commission, Box 1881, Raleigh, North Carolina.

The Tennessee Historical Commission and the Tennessee Historical Society announce the publication of an historical journal, the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*. The editor is Dr. W. C. Binkley, of the department of

history of Vanderbilt University, Nashville. The subscription price has been fixed at two dollars per annum to libraries.

The second number of the Bulletin of the *American Association for State and Local History* (25c to members, 35c to non-members) carries an article by Sylvester K. Stevens on "Local History and Winning the War". Mr. Stevens is the Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies and Editor of the Association's handbook.

The International Catholic Truth Society of Brooklyn has suspended publication of the magazine, *Light*. It will center its efforts on the publication of Catholic pamphlets.

While E. R. A. Seligman was the editor of the *Political Science Quarterly* he engaged in correspondence with most of the important figures in the fields of economics and government. Joseph Dorfman has been editing this correspondence in the last four issues of the *Quarterly* and has uncovered a mine of interesting comment and opinion. Now he plans to produce a volume of the material, which will include that already presented and any letters of Professor Seligman which may be discovered. He promises to return the originals promptly to their owners if they permit him to make copies. The address of the *Political Science Quarterly* is Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

The Irish Committee of Historical Sciences through its archives subcommittee has launched a campaign for the preservation of Irish historical documents. In a leaflet published by them these articles were suggested as materials worth preservation: all papers over a century old; wills, probates, administrative grants of any date; court papers of any date; letters patent, grants under the act of settlement, leases, conveyances, marriage settlements; surveys, estate maps and plans, particulars of sales, court rolls; rentals, rate books, assessments and official lists of names; documents which in their time were the essential ones for office work in any institution; pamphlets previous to 1800, newspapers previous to 1850. Correspondence should be addressed to the director, National Library, Dublin, or to the deputy keeper, Public Record Office, Belfast.

Those who hold with Malcolm V. Hay that the *Popish Plot* has scarcely been scratched and wish to carry on their investigations in this country will find an abundance of source material on the *Plot* in the Cleveland Public Library. The same library houses a sizeable collection of original documents dealing with the Jacobites.

The Special Committee on British Sources appointed by the American Historical Association has signed a contract with the Readex Microprint Corporation of New York for the duplication in microprint form of the *Sessional Papers* for the nineteenth century. Generally speaking, the

*Sessional Papers* are all the papers which the House of Commons ordered to be printed for its own use and that of the general public. The materials now being made available to the student of nineteenth-century British history are inconceivably rich: original bills and their amendments; the finances of government at home and in the colonies; annual reports covering Ireland, Scotland, India, the army, navy, courts, and every branch of government service; reports of committees and commissioners; diplomatic documents, treaties, and protocols. Because of the magnitude of this work and the diverse nature of its contents, the *Sessional Papers* constitute a collection of documents of highest importance in the field of modern history. The method of reproduction represents the latest advances in microcopying. The 9 x 6 microprint sheet is a specially developed photographic paper, to each side of which is laminated a film of cellulose acetate to prevent curling. On each side of the paper 100 pages of document are printed. Thus, it is planned to reproduce 4,000,000 pages on 20,000 sheets of microprint, an arrangement so convenient that the whole set will take up but five feet of shelf as compared with 1000 feet required by the original volumes. By a slight turn of the dial on a special projector (the Readex), any one of the 100 pages of the sheet can be instantly located for easy reading. Details about the technical and functional qualities of the microprints and the Readex together with cost of the *Papers* can be found in the *Journal of Documentary Reproduction* for June, 1941 (Edgar L. Erickson, "The Sessional Papers Project", pp. 83-93).

In commemoration of the 300th anniversary of Galileo's death the Pontifical Academy of Sciences will publish an exhaustive study of his life and work. Father Agostino Gemelli, O.F.M., President of the Academy, announces that the volume is being prepared by Monsignor Pio Paschini, Rector Magnificus of the Pontifical Lateran Athenaeum.

The *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* goes its way uncorrupted by the politics of the time. The latest number to arrive (XVII. Band, 1. Heft) contains an article by K. Jordan, "Studien zur Klosterpolitik Heinrichs des Löwen," and a long study of Hans Jürgen Riekenberg, "Königsstrasse und Königsgut in Liudolfingischer und Frühsalischer Zeit (919-1056)." The latter is supplemented by three maps showing the journeys of the Ottos, Henry II, and of the Salians.

The recognition that the almost universal monastic revival of the tenth and eleventh centuries was not due solely to the efforts of Cluny has become a commonplace. There were, nevertheless, many contacts between the various centers of revival which resulted in similarities in spirit and observance. This point is well made by Dom Thomas Symonds in his series of articles "Sources of the Regularis Concordia" (*Downside Review,*

LXIX, 1941, 14 ff., 143 ff., 264 ff.). The author plans an extensive work on the subject, but his notes are tied up on the continent.

Vol. VII, No. 2 (Jan., 1942) of the *Round Table of Franciscan Research* (St. Anthony Friary, Marathon, Wisconsin) contains the following articles written by Capuchin clerics: "The Rise of the Capuchins 1518-1528" by Leander Gribben; "Matteo da Bascio" by Fintan Spruck; "The Separation of the Order in 1517" by Malachy Flaherty; "Fra Cristoforo—Real or Fictitious?" by Charles Repole; "The 'Pia Deploratio' of St. Bernardine of Siena" by Eric May; "St. Francis and the Crib" by Augustine Konzer and Roch Mullin; and "Friar John-Baptist, O.F.M.Cap.: A Precursor of Modern Agriculture" by Celsus Repole. The youthful authors show fine promise.

Professor Chester C. McCown of the Pacific School of Religion at Berkeley writes a tribute in the January, 1942 issue of *The Journal of Religion* to "Alfred Loisy—Unfaltering Critic." It is marked by a spirit of hostility to the Church's condemnation of Modernism in 1907. The article is punctured with jibes such as the following: "The defeat of Loisy and Modernism in 1907 by the stupid cabal of Italian reactionaries in the Vatican" (p. 21); Loisy labored for twenty years "to save the Church from herself" (p. 22); and "surely Protestants and, let us hope, eventually Catholics, will see the ineluctable truth that the world moves" (p. 38). The same number of the *Journal* contains an article by Roger Hazelton of Colorado College on "Was Nietzsche an Anti-Christian?" in which the author is inclined to the belief that Nietzsche was not as unqualified a foe of Christianity as commonly held.

Mr. Charles Upson Clark, Corresponding Member of the Romanian Academy, has published a fifty-page booklet on *Racial Aspects of Romania's Case*. An historical outline is followed by eight tables of statistics. Table VI lists the population according to religion.

The January, 1942 issue of *Foreign Affairs* carries several articles of interest to readers of the REVIEW. An instructive discussion of historical parallelism and comparison is found in the article, "Napoleon and Hitler" by Professor Crane Brinton of Harvard. It offers a good example of how history can be, in the hands of the trained scholar, a source of enlightenment to men perplexed by problems to which they stand all-too-close. Jacques Maritain contributes a discussion on "Religion and Politics in France," in which he foresees the larger number of French Catholics remaining true to what he calls the real French traditions and not yielding to the collaboration plans of the Vichy government. In the same issue Archduke Otto of Austria makes a plea for a restored federation of peoples within the area of the old Hapsburg Empire in his article called "Danubian Reconstruction."

In the March issue of the *Historical Bulletin* Father Gilbert Garraghan, S.J., discusses "Washington and the Catholics." The eminent research professor demonstrates that the "Rules of Civility" which the Father of Our Country observed originated in the Jesuit college of La Flèche in France. With an abundance of documentation, Father Garraghan also points out that Washington harbored no anti-Catholic bigotry in his private life and repressed it on various occasions in his capacity of public servant.

Volume XXXII of the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* contains twenty articles and brief notes, the longest of which is a study entitled, "Political Nativism in Brooklyn," by Professor Richard J. Purcell and Father John F. Poole, C.P. This article traces the growth of the Catholic population in Brooklyn from ca. 1830, the deepening antagonism of the anti-Catholic movements of the 1840's and 1850's, and ends with the death of the Know-Nothing Party on the eve of the Civil War. A useful compilation is the list of men of Irish birth or Irish ancestry who won the Medal of Honor in the service of the United States army and navy from the period of the Civil War to the first years of the twentieth century. The list was compiled by Doran Hurley. A carefully documented article by Carl Selmer of Hunter College treats of "The St. Brendan Legend in Old German Literature." The volume contains a number of interesting cuts, among them several of features of the Society's handsome new home at 991 Fifth Avenue in New York.

The Swiss firm of Raeber and Company announces the publication of C. A. Hegner, *Ein schweizerischer Indianerapostel, P. Balthasar Feusi, S.J.* (1941, pp. 212). The author, a close relative of Father Feusi, was able to base his story on family documents. Father Feusi came to the United States in 1885 and labored for many years in the Dakotas.

Thomas F. Doyle did not forget the journalistic value of an arresting title when he headed his article in the *Catholic World* (February, 1942), "The Negro in the Irish Empire." What is the Irish empire? It is "a spiritual hegemony that stretches to the ends of the earth." What has this spiritual hegemony done for the Negro in America? After surveying the facts, Doyle points out that "the negro needs more statesmen like O'Connell, more prelates like Cardinal Gibbons, more priests like Father Slattery, more industrialists like the late John J. Eagen."

An important work for the pioneer Catholic history of the Northwest is expected to be off the press this spring. This is the initial volume in the series of publications projected by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in memory of the late distinguished historian, Charles Walworth Alvord. The volume, much of it in French, covers the period 1815-1827 of Indian mission history of part of the old Northwest. Dr. Grace Nute,

well-known authority in trans-Mississippi history, is editor. Copies of the work will be available from the publisher, the Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Students of the history of colonial Mid-America will welcome the appearance of *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French, 1673-1850* (Washington University Studies, Language and Literature, No. 12, St. Louis). The compiler, John Francis McDermott, assistant professor of English, Washington University, intends the work "for the use of students of any phase of French culture in the Mississippi Valley."

The fourth volume of *Papers in Illinois History, 1940,* edited by Paul M. Angle, contains four papers read at the annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society, May 9-10, 1940, the report of the secretary, and an account of the business meeting of the Society. Besides these matters there is a lengthy article of over a hundred pages on "The Great Chicago Fire, October 8-10, 1871," by H. A. Musham, a naval architect and research engineer. This article is carefully documented and is accompanied by twenty illustrations. Professor James Alton James contributes an article on "Robert Kennicott," a pioneer Illinois scientist and Arctic explorer. Professor C. H. Cramer of Southern Illinois Normal University writes a brief article on "Robert Green Ingersoll," based principally on two collections of family correspondence acquired by the Illinois State Historical Library. While the contents of the letters reveal Ingersoll as a man of deep family affection, the reader will not find a very complete answer in the extracts from these letters to the question of Professor Cramer: "What was Robert Green Ingersoll really like?" (p. 59).

Mrs. Earl McAllister, whose *Ellen Ewing* and *In Winter We Flourish* (Sarah Peter) were notable contributions to the biography of eminent American Catholic women, has been commissioned by the Sisters of the Holy Cross to write the life of their foundress, Mother Angela.

The July-October, 1941 number of the *Utah Historical Quarterly* contains the second installment of an article by Herbert S. Auerbach, President of the Utah Historical Society, on the missionary journey of Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, O.F.M. from Santa Fe to the region of the present Salt Lake City. Father Escalante with two companions left Santa Fe in July, 1776 and returned there on January 1, 1777. This itinerary of the missionaries is accompanied by two maps showing the route taken by them in their travels.

The *Fourth Annual Report, 1940-1941* of the Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio, publishes abstracts of unpublished dissertations accepted in 1941 relating to American history from 1865 to 1900. On page 54 there

is an abstract of a dissertation on "Bourke Cockran, Orator" presented at the University of Wisconsin by Mother M. Margaret.

One of the minor works prepared by the Historical Records Survey of the Works Projects Administration which has real interest for many readers of the REVIEW is the mimeographed "Inventory of Records of St. Patrick's Church and School of Washington." It has been edited by Charles H. Wentz working under the Director, Sargent B. Child, with Professor Peter Guilday as adviser on Inventories of Catholic Church Archives. This little report is based in the main on the 1939 issue of Milton E. Smith's *History of St. Patrick's Church*. It contains much interesting data from the year 1794 with brief sketches of a number of the outstanding pastors from Father Anthony Caffry (1794-1804) to Monsignor Lawrence J. Shehan, the ninth and present pastor. Among the distinguished priests who served this historic parish either as pastors or assistants were Benedict J. Fenwick, S.J., second bishop of Boston, Charles Constantine Pise, chaplain of the United States Senate, 1832-1833, James Walters, Owen P. Corrigan, late auxiliary bishop of Baltimore, Dr. Dennis J. Stafford, Shakesperian lecturer, John J. Keane, rector of the Catholic University of America and later archbishop of Dubuque, William T. Russell, bishop of Charleston and John M. McNamara, auxiliary bishop of Baltimore-Washington.

The Fourth Annual New York Conference on Eastern Rites and Liturgies was held on March 20, in Collins Auditorium, Fordham University. The welcome on behalf of the University was extended by the Very Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., President, and the Right Reverend Monsignor Bryan J. McEntegart, LL.D., National Director of the Near East Welfare Organization, presided. The subject of this year's conference was "The Byzantine Slavs", with three addresses: "East is East: From the White to the Black Sea", by the Reverend Dr. Stephen C. Gulovich, Chancellor of the Carpatho-Russian Greek Rite Diocese of Pittsburgh: "East is East and West is West: From Byzantium to Rome", by the Reverend Dr. Andrew Rogosh, Pastor of St. Michael's Chapel for Russians, New York and "East is West: From Behring Strait to Brooklyn Bridge", by the Reverend Dr. Thomas J. McMahon, Professor of History and Patrology at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, Yonkers, N. Y. On March 21, His Excellency, Archbishop Spellman, presided at a Solemn Concelebration of the Byzantine-Slavic Liturgy in St. Patrick's Cathedral. These conferences have been sponsored yearly by a group of New York priests and laymen interested in Eastern rites.

The *Report of the Public Archives* of the Dominion of Canada for the year 1941 has appeared. 313 pages are devoted to a *Calendar of Series Q*,

a series composed of the official correspondence of the governors and other officials of Quebec and Lower and Upper Canada for the years 1760-1841.

*Le Canada Français* began the publication in its January, 1942 issue of a series of letters from the American historian, Francis Parkman, to Abbé Henri-Raymond Casgrain of Quebec. The letters were continued in the February number and presumably will be concluded in future issues. They were addressed to Abbé Casgrain from Boston, the first dated March 28, 1866 and, we are told, they continued until shortly before Parkman's death in November, 1893. They make interesting reading, and particularly so in the light of comments on Parkman's published works as they appeared. For example, in his letter of January 30, 1868 he wrote the Abbé that he had just sent him a copy of the recently published *Jesuits in North America*. He hoped he would find it worthwhile, and Parkman added: "Remembering that I am a heretic, you will expect a good deal with which you will be very far from agreeing. The truth is, I am a little surprised that neither Catholics nor Protestants have been very severe in their strictures in the book. I fully expected to be attacked by both—that is by the Calvinistic portion of Protestants."

Abbé Arthur Maheux of Laval University and the Royal Society writes an appreciation in four pages of the work and personality of Monsignor Amédée Gosselin in the January, 1942 issue of *Le Canada Français*. Monsignor Gosselin was one of Canada's most distinguished church historians and is remembered for his splendid labors in the archives of Laval University and the Grand Séminaire of Quebec. Historians will regret the passing of one whose meticulous labors through many years have rendered easier the task of research workers in the rich archival materials housed at Laval University.

A *Guide to the Manuscripts in the Lima Library, the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.* by Manoel S. Cardozo has been published in the *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, 1940, No. 6. Dr. Cardozo has carried out the late Dr. Lima's plan for a guide to the manuscripts in the library. The *Guide* is divided into three parts: codices, letters originally held by João Artur de Sousa Correia, and miscellaneous manuscripts. It is both topically and onomastically indexed.

A series of lectures on Latin American subjects was given at the Catholic University of America during the month of February under the auspices of the Institute of Ibero-American Studies. Dr. Robert C. Smith, assistant director of the Hispanic Foundation and keeper of the Archive of Hispanic Culture, The Library of Congress, spoke on "What is Latin American Art?"; the Rev. Dr. David Rubio, head of the Department of Romance Languages at the Catholic University of America, on "The Cultural Heritage of Spanish America"; Mr. Gilbert Chase, author and critic,

on "Main Currents in Latin American Music"; Dr. Lewis Hanke, director of the Hispanic Foundation, The Library of Congress, on "The Americanization of America, or a Continent in Search of Itself"; and Dr. John T. Reid, of the Department of Romance Languages, Duke University, on "The Development of *Americanismo* in Spanish American Literature."

The election of officers for the next fiscal year has just been announced by the Institute of Ibero-American Studies of the Catholic University of America. Mr. Richard Pattee, of the Department of State, will serve as director; the Reverend Dr. David Rubio as vice-director; and Dr. Manoel S. Cardozo, as secretary. In addition to the above officers, the Institute's Managing Committee is composed of Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, the Reverend Dr. James A. Magner, Monsignor Francis J. Haas, and the Reverend Dr. Francis Borgia Steck.

Monsignor Francisco Vives, Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of Chile, spent several weeks in this country at the invitation of the Department of State. He visited university centers in and near Washington, New York, and Chicago, as well as Harvard and Notre Dame. Monsignor Vives is the author of a biography of Pope Pius XII and a recent work on the philosophy of law, his special field of interest.

Father J. García Gutiérrez inaugurates a new section, Hagiografía Americana, in the review *Christus*. In the February number, after a brief introduction on the reasons for introducing this section, he writes an article on "San Felipe de Jesús." In the March number he writes on "El beato Bartolomé Gutiérrez, O.S.A."

The Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas of the University of Mexico is to be congratulated on the publication of two valuable brochures, *Carta de Américo Vespucio de las islas nuevamente descubiertas en cuatro de sus viajes edición facsimilar de un impreso publicado entre 1505 y 1516* (México, Imprenta Universitaria, 1941), and *Compendio bibliográfico del Triunfo Parténico de Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (México, Imprenta Universitaria, 1941). The first item includes not only a facsimile reproduction of the original but also a Spanish translation of the important Vespucci letter. Our thanks are due, in particular, to Dr. Manuel Toussaint, who has been largely responsible for both editions.

Carey Shaw, Jr. of the National Archives published a long article, "Church and State in Colombia as observed by American Diplomats, 1834-1906," in the November, 1941 issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. It is based almost entirely on the despatches and instructions of the Department of State which are now housed in the National Archives. Among the items of interest noted was the problem which arose in 1891 when the Colombian government received an official repre-

sentative of the Holy See. The question of precedence was involved since the American minister, John G. Abbott, was dean of the diplomatic corps accredited to Bogotá. Abbott wrote to James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, on March 16, 1891 asking for instructions, offering to yield the deanship to the apostolic delegate in conformity with the rules laid down by the Congress of Vienna. He said: "Personally I should be glad to do so, not only on account of the social and mental gifts of the Delegate, but as an act of courtesy to the Republic to which I am accredited" (p. 602). The Acting Secretary of State replied that he should consult the wishes of the Colombian government in the matter and he quoted for his enlightenment an instruction sent on February 19, 1891 to John Hicks, American minister to Lima, when a similar question had arisen in Peru. The clause of the Treaty of Vienna was quoted and the Acting Secretary added: "This latter clause has no application in the United States, no diplomatic relations being maintained by us with the Vatican. This government has not opposed the practice of courtesy, by which precedence is allowed to the Papal envoy in countries which maintain such relations. Your attitude may appropriately remain one of neutral acquiescence in whatever rule may be agreeable to the Government of Peru" (p. 602).

Monsignor Nicolás E. Navarro, dean of the cathedral chapter of Caracas, apostolic prothonotary, and member of various Venezuelan and foreign learned societies, has long devoted himself to the study of the ecclesiastical and civil history of Venezuela. Among his latest works may be mentioned *Actividades diplomáticas del General Florencio O'Leary en Europa años 1834 a 1839* (Caracas, 1939), an important series of letters addressed by O'Leary to General Carlos Soubette, vice-president of Venezuela, and published by Monsignor Navarro in tribute to the fiftieth centenary of the National Academy of History of Caracas. Monsignor Navarro is also the author of *Anales Eclesiásticos Venezolanos* (Caracas, 1939), *Tópicos bolivarianos glosas al "Diario de Bucaramanga"* (Caracas, 1933), *Apuntes sobre la provincia misionera de Orinoco y indígenas de su territorio Con algunas otras particularidades Por el R. P. Fray Ramón Bueno Franciscano Observante Ministro de Urbana y Tortugas* (Caracas, 1933), and *Diario de Bucaramanga Estudio Crítico y Reproducción Literalísima del Manuscrito Original de L. Peru de Lacroix, con toda clase de aclaraciones para discernir su valor histórico* (Caracas, 1935).

Students interested in Far Eastern history will appreciate the article of T. G. P. Spear of St. Stephen's College, Delhi University, in the April, 1941 number of the *Journal of Indian History*. It is entitled, "The Mogul Family and the Court in 19th Century Delhi." This periodical, in its twenty-first year, is a co-operative enterprise of the scholars of India's

leading colleges and universities. On the consulting editorial board is Father H. Heras, S.J. of the University of Bombay.

A *Bibliography of Economic Books and Pamphlets by Catholic Authors,* compiled by Paul J. Fitzpatrick and Cletus F. Dirksen, C.PP.S., has been published by the Catholic University of America Press. The authors prepared the volume in commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and dedicate it to Monsignor John A. Ryan. The bibliography is limited to works in English by Catholic authors. The list of pamphlets contains only those published in the last twenty years. The fifty-page bibliography will be useful to the historian as well as to the economist.

The December number of *Franciscan Studies,* the report of the annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, contains a sheaf of articles on economics.

The winter issue of *Dominicana* contains the sermon of Monsignor Peter Guilday given at the golden jubilee Mass of the Reverend Victor F. O'Daniel, O.P.

The December, 1941 issue of *The Voice* (Vol. XIX, No. 3) is devoted to a commemoration of the Sulpician centennial celebrations held in Baltimore on November 10-12. It contains a reproduction of the letter of Pope Pius XII to John F. Fenlon, S.S., Provincial of the Sulpician Fathers in the United States; a reprint of the letter of the bishops of the Administrative Board of the N.C.W.C. written in the name of the American hierarchy to congratulate the Sulpician Society; the texts of the three sermons preached at the solemn pontifical Masses on the days of jubilee; an account of the Sulpician Alumni Association meeting; a list of the hundreds of guests present for the occasion; an account of the commemoration of the tercentenary of the Society of St. Sulpice as celebrated in Montreal; and a group of interesting pictures of the events of the three-day celebration.

*Le troisième centenaire de Saint-Sulpice,* a volume of 200 pages published by the Sulpicians of Montreal, brings together the articles and sermons connected with their observance of their jubilee. Two of the thirty-eight articles are in English: "The Sulpicians of Paris and Montreal," by William Henry Atherton and "Gentlemen of St. Sulpice Aid English-Speaking Catholics," by Gerald J. McShane.

A history of the parish of St. Charles Borromeo at St. Charles, Missouri is being prepared by its pastor, Father William B. Sommerhauser, S.J. The town and parish celebrated their 150th anniversary last fall. Blessed Philippine Duchesne died at St. Charles in 1852. She founded the first

house of the Religious of the Sacred Heart in the United States there in 1818.

The Resurrectionist Fathers will celebrate the centennial anniversary of their founding on April 9.

The present year will see the tercentennial of the martyrdom of St. René Goupil, first of America's canonized saints, who was martyred at Auriesville, New York, September 29, 1642.

*Documents*: An Unpublished Machiavelli Letter. Felix Gilbert (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).—Souvenirs d'Edouard de Mondésir. (*Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Washington*, Dec.).—Christian Traugott Ficker's Advice to Emigrants. (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, Dec., 1941).—Informes acerca de las misiones de Lean y Mulia, de la Provincia de Honduras [continued]. (*Boletín del Archivo General del Gobierno*, Guatemala, VI, 3.—Ocurso de don Lorenzo Vásquez y Aguilar, alcalde mayor de Tegucigalpa. Auto aprobando el gasto de doscientos pesos, invertidos por Fr. Manuel de Barroetea en la fundación del pueblo de San Juan, en la provincia de Nicaragua. (*ibid.*) — Consulta del Obispo de Nicaragua, acerca de la reducción de los indios caribes. (*ibid.*)—Two Papal Bulls for St. Mary, Clerkenwell. W. O. Hassall (*Eng. Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).

## BRIEF NOTICES

BEDOYERE, MICHAEL de la. *Christian Crisis.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 210. $1.75.) This is an interpretation, not a history, of nineteenth century liberalism, socialism, and nationalism as related to the Church. Leo XIII and Pius IX warned against liberalism, but Catholics minimized the warnings. The program of *Rerum Novarum* remained a dead letter. The Church was less alert in warning against nationalism; many churchmen did not recognize it as counterfeit patriotism. Scrupulously respecting the rights of the state, the Church compromised on many non-essentials and agreed to harassing concordats. Eventually public affairs were so secularized that a project like the League of Nations, which had a Christian flavor, was at bottom pagan and naturalistic. Simultaneous with this decline, private piety increased within the Church. Witness the frequenting of the sacraments and the interest in the liturgy.

The author disapproves the popular standards of judging Catholics, observing that a yearly communicant who shuns Church societies but has a genuinely Catholic *Weltanschauung* is not to be frowned upon. He analyzes the problems of English Catholics at length, remarking that the appeal of the Catholic Church is hampered by the fact that so many of the clergy are Irish while Catholicism itself seems continental. It is recommended that Christian groups co-operate without any compromise in doctrine. The leaders of the world are striving furiously after ideals which are Christian in substance, even though the leaders are unconscious of that fact. Naturally the whole program of the Church is only intelligible to those illumined by grace. The final goal of the Church is not temporal; consequently not too much can be expected from Catholic Action which lacks a concrete program for purely temporal matters. Accordingly, it is folly to compare Catholic Action with the Communist crusade.

While some readers will miss a bibliography, index, and footnotes, the book offers a pleasant and profound explanation of how Christianity was subtly eased out of public affairs till it finally became a private matter and a beloved Sunday routine, rather than a leaven in society and a matter-of-fact pattern of life. The problem of to-morrow is: How can the salvific light within many individual hearts be placed high in the heavens to cure suffering mankind? (BENJAMIN J. BLIED)

HARING, CLARENCE. *Argentina and the United States.* (Boston: World Peace Foundation. 1941. Pp. 77. Cloth, 50c; paper, 25c.) That a scholar so eminent as Professor Haring should have "taken time out" to produce a brief compendium like this is encouraging, for now we can hope that there will be more books of this kind by persons who really know Latin America, with a corresponding decrease in the number of books by persons whose knowledge

of the subject is neither broad nor deep. In five short chapters he treats the history of Argentina, its relations with the United States, its agricultural and economic condition, and the political ideals of its government and of its people, with an informing digression on Uruguay. The last page conveys advice so wise that it ought to be studied carefully by everyone who has any dealings with the Argentines, or with any other Latin Americans, for that matter. He tells us it would be better to say less about democracy and more about human dignity and human freedom. That point is very important.

There are a few topics on which a little more might have been said, such as the attitude of the Irish Porteños toward the United States, the relation of Hispanism to Nazi propaganda, and the significance of recent attempts to rehabilitate Rosas. Also, some of the section headings are not entirely apt. But those defects do little to lessen the value of the book. The author has here done a genuine service, one which only a scholar of his attainments can do (EDWIN RYAN)

HESPELT, E. HERMAN, IRVING A. LEONARD, JOHN T. REID, JOHN A. CROW, and JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK. *An Outline History of Spanish American Literature Prepared under the Auspices of the Instituto Internacional de Litteratura Iberoamericana.* (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1941. Pp. xx, 170. $1.60.) This is, on the whole, a splendid little book which teachers and students will want to use. Concise, conveniently arranged, well written, it honors the learned body under whose auspices it was written, and it will be received as a very welcome addition to the materials now available for the teaching of a subject which is looming ever larger in the college curriculum.

The book is divided into five chronological sections: the colonial period (27 pp.), the period of struggle for independence (16 pp.), the nineteenth century before modernism (34 pp.), modernism-realism (41 pp.), and the contemporary period (42 pp.). The plan has been to begin each section with a general appraisal of the period discussed, followed by an outline of its historical background and by brief accounts of the principal authors. Ample bibliographies, critically selected, are also given. Finally, the volume is brought to a close with a short appendix entitled "A Bibliographical Introduction to Brazilian Literature for Those Reading Only English and Spanish" (pp. 161-166).

The reviewer wonders why the authors should have included an appendix on Brazil at the expense of violating the title of their book. Certainly a history of Spanish American literature is hardly the place for a bibliography on writers in the Portuguese language. If the authors felt that they could not overlook Brazil, they would have shown greater wisdom had they enlarged the Brazilian section to its proper dimensions and called their study an outline of Ibero-American literature instead. After all, the reading of a handful of translations, in Spanish and in English, is a most inadequate way of introducing students to Brazilian literature.

The appendix may also be criticized for a number of errors it contains. For example, Mucio Teixeira, Antonio Gonçalves Diaz, and João da Cruz y Souza (p. 162); José Verissimo, Euclydes da Cunha, Aluizio Gonçalves de

Azevedo, and Henrique Coelho Netto (p. 164); Afranio Peixoto, Pablo de Oliveira Setubal, Erico Verissimo, and Lucio Cardoso (p. 165); Mario de Andrade and Mario Sette (p. 166). A satisfactory knowledge of Portuguese, and of modern Portuguese orthography, is not too much to expect from those who would write on Brazil. Finally, a serious blunder was committed when Coelho Neto was listed among the living (p. 164). (MANUEL S. CARDOZO)

*Inventory of the Church Archives in New York City. The Roman Catholic Church. Archdiocese of New York.* Vol. 2. Charles C. Fisher, State Supervisor for New York City. (New York City: Historical Records Survey, Work Projects Administration. 1940. Pp. x, 181.)

*Inventory of the Church Archives of Michigan. The Roman Catholic Church. Archdiocese of Detroit.* Stuart Portner, State Supervisor for Michigan. (Detroit: Michigan Historical Records Survey, Work Projects Administration. 1941. Pp. x, 189.)

With the publication of these two mimeographed volumes on the historical records of the Archdioceses of New York and Detroit by the Historical Records Survey of the Work Projects Administration, the historical student sees tangible evidence of the value attaching to the project launched in January, 1936 by authority of the President. Each volume has benefitted by the assistance of a large corps of research workers and compilers. In each case there first appears a carefully annotated historical sketch of the development of the Church's life in the region under survey. The bulk of the two volumes under review deals, as might be expected, with the historical records of the individual parishes with dates and exact locations of their establishment, names of the first and present pastors, data on the parish school, and the available archival material such as baptismal registers, marriage registers, etc., and in most cases the name of the building in which these parish records can be found. Moreover each volume contains a bibliography of works on the history of the archdioceses. One of the features of special value to the student are the careful indices where items like priests, churches, schools, Catholic diocesan organizations, and street locations of buildings are entered in indices classified properly as to alphabet, chronology, and geography. These indices enhance greatly the convenience with which the searcher after data is able to employ the volumes.

The volume on New York contains as special features a map of the diocesan divisions of New York State, a lengthy section on the diocesan organization and the system of keeping records, and divisions on the Uniate churches within New York City which include those under the jurisdiction of the Uniate bishop of Pittsburgh and those of the diocese of the Ukrainian Greek Rite. The Detroit volume has a special section on diocesan cemeteries and brief sketches for the churches of the Ukrainian and Russian Greek Rites.

Any examination of these volumes will indicate at once their worth for students who may be working in phases of the church history of their respective sections. It is a source of real satisfaction to learn that this activity of the Historical Records Survey covering other dioceses in a similar fashion has secured the funds to go on with its work through 1942 as a result of the

generosity of representatives of the various religious denominations interested in the completion of this project. (JOHN TRACY ELLIS)

JACOBSON, PAULINE. *City of the Golden Fifties.* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1941. Pp. xvi, 290. $3.00.) *City of the Golden Fifties* is a collection of sketches which first appeared as a Saturday feature of the San Francisco *Bulletin* in 1916 and 1917. There are no illustrations of any sort; the editor explains the omission: "the word-pictures must suffice, as in fact they do". The purpose of the author is to "recapture the attitudes of a life"—the very curious life of thousands of men and women who had rushed into California from almost everywhere, impelled by greed for the most part, and for the most part disappointed.

The heroes of those days were those who had succeeded in getting, by hook or by crook, the gold for which they had come. They organized the vigilantes to maintain themselves in possession. The mood of the less heroic is plaintively expressed in the ditty of one of them, quoted by Mr. Edward O'Day in his *Old San Francisco:*

> I'm sad and lonely here
> Though joy and wealth surround me;
> I dare not speak, for fear
> Some fighting man may pound me.

Miss Jacobson covers many phases of life in San Francisco in the days of gold. The center of conviviality was the Bank Exchange—which, strange as it may seem, was a saloon—but a "gentleman's saloon"; its name was not an entire misfit since the place of refreshment was also the local stock exchange. The volunteer fire brigades served a double purpose too, for they gradually became political clubs. In fact, their activities were multitudinous; each brigade had its own original song and there were inter-brigade races (to an artificial fire) for a trophy—almost in the manner of the ancients!

As to culture, San Francisco forged ahead by leaps and bounds. She "first saw the light of Melpomene's torch during the fifties . . . and soon sprang to fame as the actor's El Dorado." Catherine Hayes, the famous Swan of Erin, carried away one half million dollars after her first engagement.

Pauline Jacobson was a reporter for the San Francisco *Bulletin* during many years. Her specialty was human interest. She knew her city intimately and loved it well. (SISTER M. STEPHEN)

KELLEY, MAURICE. *This Great Argument: A Study of Milton's De Doctrina Christiana as a Gloss upon Paradise Lost.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1941. Pp. xiv, 270. $5.00.) For a century and a half after his death Milton was all but universally regarded as the great orthodox Protestant poet. In 1825 was published his Latin prose treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana,* a document bristling with heresies—Arian, Arminian, and others. Since that time scholars have been emphasizing, but not filling the need for, a careful investigation of *Paradise Lost* in the light of the treatise. Because of the scant attention hitherto given to this important problem, and because of its own intrinsic merits as sound scholarship, the present study will be especially welcome to students of Milton.

The author's thesis is that "the treatise is an indispensable gloss on the epic." After a thorough discussion of the *De Doctrina* manuscript, he concludes that that document was in substantially its present form while Milton was dictating *Paradise Lost*. The body of the work deals with the crucial but difficult problem of the theology of the poem. By a comparison of many texts from both the epic and the treatise the author attempts to show that there is no essential difference in the theology of the two works. To say that the author proves his thesis would perhaps be going too far, but he has built up a strong case that cannot easily be attacked. Even should his thesis later be discredited or disproved, Milton scholars will owe Professor Kelley a great debt, for his monograph must form the basis for any future study of this question.

The *apparatus criticus* leaves nothing to be desired. Appendix A consists of a number of photostat copies of sections of the *De Doctrina* manuscript, showing specimens of the handwriting of the various amanuenses. Appendix B, in a twenty-four page set of textual notes, describes the state of the manuscript. To an adequate bibliography and a subject index is added a valuable index of the passages from *Paradise Lost* quoted or discussed in the study. (GEORGE L. KANE)

KISCH, GUIDO. *Sachsenspiegel and Bible*. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame. [Publications in Mediaeval Studies, Vol. V.] 1941. Pp. x, 198. Cloth, $4.00; paper, $3.25.) Professor Kisch provides as a subtitle for this work, "Researches in the source history of the Sachsenspiegel and the influence of the Bible on mediaeval German law." He prudently furnishes a preliminary chapter on the character and history of the *Sachsenspiegel* itself, noting that "acquaintance with this most important of the German legal monuments of the Middle Ages is exceedingly scanty outside of the German-speaking world." The comparative study that follows readily justifies the author's evident regret at current neglect of a fascinating mediaeval source. His treatment of the *Sachsenspiegel* comes most opportunely for the American or English reader, since it rests upon a sound appreciation of the Middle Ages themselves; whereas current presentations of this same source in Nazi Germany have endeavored to account for it on theories of blood and race that have no factual relation to the culture from which the *Sachsenspiegel* sprang.

Dependence on the teaching of the Holy Scriptures is the readiest single criterion by which to determine whether a document has been composed in an essentially Christian spirit. Examined from this viewpoint, the *Sachsenspiegel* proves its author, Eike von Repgow, to have been a well-instructed Christian familiar with the Holy Scriptures and guided by their inspired text in the formulation of his law-book. In developing this thesis, Professor Kisch lays perhaps too much emphasis upon the historical books of the Old Testament, and too little upon the New Testament and the Psalms, as the basis for Eike's textual allusions to Holy Writ. This in turn leaves slightly more open the question as to whether Eike's knowledge of the biblical text is based on extensive and specialized reading in the Scriptures, or upon a less immediate approach to it through oral teaching, popular bible histories, and the

extracts used in the liturgy. As Professor Kisch himself recognizes, there is still work to be done upon the materials of Christian and Jewish tradition incorporated in the *Sachsenspiegel* to ascertain the manner in which they were made available to Eike. The chapter "Biblical Spirit in the *Sachsenspiegel*" gives an exceptionally well-thought-out presentation of a fine flowering of mediaeval culture on German soil. (PATRICK W. SKEHAN)

MCGINTY, MARTHA E. *Fulcher of Chartres, Chronicle of the First Crusade.* [Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of History, Third Series, Vol. 1.] (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1941. Pp. x, 90. $1.00.) This translation of the first book of the chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres contains his detailed history of the first crusade from the Council of Clermont in 1095 to the year 1100. Fulcher, according to the translator "gives the best idea of the crusade as it seemed to the eyes of one of its clerical participants". To the translation have been added an introduction, explanatory footnotes, a map, bibliography, and index. In reviving the well-known *Translations and Reprints*, the Department of History in the University of Pennsylvania is attempting to provide "small volumes suitable for a week's assignment in an undergraduate course, which will contain either a single source or several long passages from different sources bearing on a single subject". The present volume inaugurates the new series in an auspicious manner. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

MCINNIS, EDGAR, Associate Professor of History, University of Toronto. *The War: Second Year.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 318. $2.00.) After the pattern of John Buchan's *History of the War, 1915-1919*, the author has, on a smaller scale, undertaken to write a progressive history of the current war, providing the public with a narrative of the events, year by year. America's ace radio news analyst, Raymond Gram Swing, author of *How War Came, 1939*, has written the introduction. The chief merit of books of this kind, being a mixture of professional historiography and journalism, is to give the contemporaneous atmosphere of the period they deal with. So far two volumes of the work have been published. The first brought the story of the war up to the Battle of Britain in September 1940. The volume under review ends with the German terror in Nazi-occupied territory, and concludes with a quotation from Churchill's appeal to the conquered after the Atlantic conference: "Keep your soul clean from all contact with the Nazis. Make them feel, even in their hour of brutish triumph, that they are the moral outcasts of mankind. Help is coming. Mighty forces are arming in your behalf. Have faith. Have hope. Deliverance is sure."

The book is equipped with eight maps, most of them taken from the New York *Times* and the Manchester *Guardian*. A documentary appendix, including copies of the Lend-Lease Bill and the Atlantic Charter, a carefully compiled chronology, and a good index are added. For reference the volume has value. (HENRY JOSEPH BRUEHL)

MCLINTOCK, A. H. *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832.* (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1941. Pp. xii, 246. $6.00.) This is the seventeenth in the Royal Empire Society Im-

perial Studies edited by Arthur Percival Newton. Professor McLintock of the University of Otago, New Zealand tells the story of party strife, political crises, and economic upheavals which accompanied the development of constitutional government in Newfoundland. Discovered by John Cabot in 1497 and claimed for Henry VII as the first piece of English territory beyond the ocean, Newfoundland was not raised to the dignity of a colony until 1824 nor granted a representative government until 1832. The core of Professor McLintock's narrative is the fifty years between 1783 and 1832, when Newfoundland grew from a community of a few thousand fishermen in 1783 to a flourishing colony which received the gift of representative government in 1832. In spite of its significance this period has received little attention from historians. The author's research in governmental documents has enabled him to bring fresh details to almost every item in the book. He has examined the historical records in the Public Record Office, London, which were until recently closed to public inspection. He has made extensive use of the hitherto unknown report by James Stephen in 1831 in which a plan for a legislature was suggested. The author has also investigated the numerous despatches and other official papers from the Colonial Office. Many of these documents have been ignored by historians of Newfoundland.

Professor McLintock's work may be considered the leading survey in the field. A great deal of careful research has gone into the study. It is well organized and thoroughly documented. It has an index, a detailed bibliography, and several interesting appendices. (HERBERT W. RICE)

OVERTON, RICHARD C. *Burlington West: A Colonization History of The Burlington Railroad.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1941. Pp. xx, 583. $4.50.) This is a significant book. It is significant not only because it is a detailed investigation of one of the most important phases of the development of the trans-Mississippi West, but also because the investigation reveals that, for the Burlington at least, many of the ugly charges of fraud and misuse of public munificence are not true. To aid it in building its line through relatively sparsely settled Iowa and unsettled Nebraska, the Burlington received 2,700,000 acres of public lands. For the railroad this grant had a double value. From the actual or potential proceeds of the sale of these lands would have to come much of the money needed to finance construction, and from the settlers occupying these lands would come the railroad's future business. Mr. Overton's researches and materials, almost embarrassing because of their fullness, demonstrate that the railroad consistently kept these ends in view. True the management claimed all the lands to which it believed itself entitled; likewise it sought to get the highest possible price for those lands. But justice to itself demanded this, and high prices discouraged speculators who would have contributed nothing to the welfare either of the railroad or the state. Mr. Overton traces carefully the evolution of the land policies of the railroad, the extensiveness and intensiveness of its publicity campaigns here and abroad, its activities in encouraging the economic, community, and cultural life of the settlers it attracted.

Most significant is the conclusion reached on the basis of the experience of Robert Harris, Burlington land commissioner, that the West was

drawing off the surplus agricultural population of the East rather than attracting city dwellers (p. 301). Many maps and charts enhance the value of this definitely worthwhile book. (P. RAYMOND NIELSON)

*Rashi Anniversary Volume.* (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research. 1941. [Texts and Studies, Vol. I.] Pp. 248. $3.00.) This volume is a collection of lectures, essays, and studies in commemoration of the nine-hundredth anniversary of the birth of the mediaeval Jewish commentator on the Bible and Talmud, Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (1040-1105). The first four sections, contributed by Alexander Marx, Ismar Elbogen, Bernard D. Weinryb, and Salo W. Baron, are of a rather general character, endeavoring to place Rashi and his work against the background of his own times and to give an appreciation of the man as well as of the works. The task is made especially difficult by the fact that a fine-combing of Rashi's works discloses only about seven pertinent items regarding the author himself, to which external testimony adds almost no biographical data. The gleanings which we have are presented by the four distinguished scholars in varying contexts, with inferences which differ, sometimes strikingly, in the interpretation put upon the facts.

The little that is known of Rashi's life is, however, in its own way an indirect testimony to the value of his work. For it is a singular merit in a commentator so to immerse himself in the spirit of the document which he sets out to explain that nothing of his own character or personal concerns obtrudes itself upon the reader. This merit, together with those of clarity, conciseness, and a keen insight, Rashi possessed; and though for the Christian world his Talmudic commentary is a work very much on the fringe of the main cultural stream, his biblical commentaries, and especially that on the Mosaic books, have provided a valuable key to the exegesis of the Old Testament. Their influence on Christian scholars is exemplified in the present volume in a sketch by Herman Hailperin of the relationship between Rashi and Nicholas Lyranus (1270-1349), as reflected in Lyranus' notes or *Postillae* on the Minor Prophets.

A comparative study by Viktor Aptowitzer points out that the varying presentations of Rashi's teaching on identical questions that may be found in different parts of his Talmud commentary suggests it was composed according to the exigencies of oral instruction in the classroom. The volume includes also a check-list of manuscript supercommentaries on Rashi's Pentateuch commentary, a study of his quotations from the Jerusalem Talmud, and a critical treatment of his work as a lexicographer for the Babylonian Talmud. (PATRICK W. SKEHAN)

RYAN, GRANGER and HELMUT RIPPERGER, (Eds.). *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine.* Part II. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. Pp. viii, 347-800. $3.00.) Some of the external features of the new English version of *The Golden Legend* were pointed out in the notice of Part I which appeared in the January number of this journal (XXVII, 528). Part II contains Jacobus de Voragine's selection from the mediaeval *legenda* for the months of July to November inclusively, as well as the five short chapters

on the Fathers of the Desert, the *Historia Lombardica*, and the chapter on "The Dedication of a Church". The high level of translating excellence set in Part I is maintained in its companion volume. Each part is illustrated by eight plates, two of the author and fourteen of manuscripts and printed editions of the work. The pagination of the text is continuous for the two volumes, but each has its own index. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

STEVENS, SYLVESTER K., DONALD H. KENT, and EMMA EDITH WOODS (Eds.). *Travels in New France by J. C. B.* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical Commission. 1941. Pp. xiv, 167. 75c.) The Pennsylvania Historical Survey has provided some new side lights for the colonial and frontier fields by translating and editing *Voyage au Canada, dans le nord de l'Amérique septentrionale, depuis l'an 1751 à 1761*, written by J. C. B. who remains anonymous, in spite of all efforts to identify him. Although apparently intended for publication, the manuscript lay dormant in French archives until published in 1887 by Abbé H. R. Casgrain at Quebec. Investigators consider the memoirs genuine, although they contain many incongruous and inaccurate statements. The editors supplement the text with explanatory footnotes and corrections on the manuscript, of which there probably should be more.

The *Voyage* which seemed so adventurous to J. C. B. does not reveal much that is new to the student of French colonial history. The Banks of Newfoundland bulked large on his horizon as he approached the continent, the scenic St. Lawrence received scant mention, and Quebec a plain description. Pecuniary embarrassment caused J. C. B. to enlist in the artillery service, which was the means by which he reached the interior of the continent in 1753. Montreal, set off on its isle, impressed the traveler, also the Indian reduction of La Prairie and the neglected forts of Frontenac and Niagara. Fort Prêsque Isle, the site of the present Erie, Pennsylvania was under construction when the party reached that point. When they reached Michilimackinac the Indian tribes were assembled and harangued into bearing arms against the encroaching English. The return trip to Quebec was made over the much-frequented Lake Nipissing-Ottawa River route. The historian of the Church will be disappointed in the complete absence of observations on western missions or missionaries.

J. C. B.'s next commission was with the builders and commanding forces at Fort Duquesne where he witnessed the opening conflicts of the French and Indian War. In the final phases of the war, he served at Fort Lévis, which capitulated after the fall of Quebec. While a prisoner in New York the author learned of the cession of New France, which he deeply regretted and thought irretrievable. In the exchange of prisoners, J. C. B. regained France, the richer for his experience but not well rewarded financially. Anthropologists will be pleased with the inclusion of the natives at different points in the narrative and with the concluding chapter entirely devoted to the manners and customs of the North American savages, who always intrigued the European visitors. (SISTER M. DORIS)

VARGAS UGARTE, RUBÉN, S. J. *Los Jesuitas del Perú (1568-1767)*. (Lima: 1941. Pp. vi, 228.) Dr. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, director of the Institute of

Historical Research of the Catholic University of Lima, has long been recognized as one of the leading historians of his country. His contributions to Peruvian colonial history have been legion; and he has done much to stimulate a lively interest in the period of Spanish domination.

Appropriately published at a time when the Jesuits were celebrating the fourth centenary of their existence as an order, the latest work to come from Father Vargas' pen is an excellent survey of Jesuit activities in Peru during the years which lie between the arrival of the first priests to the extinction of the Peruvian province in 1767. The book is divided into twenty chapters. The first ten discuss the origins of the Society in Peru, the expansion of the order in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the catechization and education of the natives, the Majos Mission, the Venerable Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the work of the Jesuits among the Spanish settlers, Father Alonso Messia Bedoya, and Jesuit *colegios* and universities. The last ten chapters deal with Jesuit contributions to Peruvian culture, art, letters, etc.

On page 1 the author writes: "Cábele a la Provincia jesuítica del Perú la gloria de haber sido la primogénita entre todas las de América. . . ." This is not true. Brazil became a Jesuit vice-province in 1550 and, three years later, a province. The volume may be obtained by writing to the author at the Catholic University of Lima. (MANOEL S. CARDOZO)

WAAS, GLENN ELWOOD, Instructor in German in Colgate University. *The Legendary Character of Kaiser Maximilian.* [Columbia University Germanic Studies, New Series, No. 14.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. Pp. 227. $2.75.) As the title indicates, this latest literary evaluation of Maximilian treats primarily of the legendary character of the Holy Roman Emperor-elect, depicted and delineated in German and Austrian legends, folk-lore, and literature (Faust sagas, etc.), and as stabilized by the year 1600. Nevertheless, the author has not neglected to give his readers some valuable historical aspects connected with the life of one of the most beloved and colorful rulers of the Hapsburg dynasty. In fact, he has made the interweaving of history and legend, which resulted in the heroic conception of Maximilian, the chief aim of his study. The separation of the purely legendary from the strictly historical is a gratifying contribution in any epic. For that reason Mr. Waas does not restrict himself merely to the "formulation of the legend of Max", but endeavors to determine the amount of influence the legendary sources surrounding the figure of Maximilian exercised on German historiography, much like similar sources in the *Golden Legend* or the folk-lore in the *Fioretti* exercised on certain students of asceticism or Franciscana. In this sense of the word the author's work has not only literary but likewise historical value.

Regarding Maximilian the author admits in a somewhat abstruse sentence, "for succeeding generations the interpretation by historians has been of influence on the creation of the figure of the emperor as he appears in German literature" (p. 4). From contemporaries like Joseph Grünpeck and Joannes Cuspianus (Spiessheimer), the philological-critical, but kindly-inclined Ranke, the rather unsympathetic Heinrich Ulmann and his followers, Paul Van Dyke and Mrs. Marian Andrews (Christopher Hare), to the apologetical

Johannes Janssen and hero-glorifying Seton-Watson, Dr. Waas has tried to let his readers draw a composite figure of Maximilian. Although the work is not a biography, the detailed bibliography, the copious documentation, and sober evaluation of sources will not fail to interest the critical historian. (RAPHAEL M. HUBER)

WARD, CHRISTOPHER L. *The Delaware Continentals, 1776-1783.* (Wilmington: Historical Society of Delaware. 1941. Pp. xviii, 620. $3.75.) To forestall the criticism that so extensive a study of the Delaware continentals is unwarranted and unduly discriminatory the Preface of this work cites Colonel Henry Lee of Virginia and Dr. David Ramsay of South Carolina who bear witness to the superior soldiership and general excellent record of the Delaware regiment. Although it served longer and more continuously than any other regiment, although it took part in all of the major battles under Washington in the north and Gates in the south, its exploits hitherto were never accorded due recognition or appreciation. Mr. Ward, working under the auspices of the Historical Society of Delaware, has drawn on secondary works and sources to sketch the vicissitudes and heroic deeds of the Delaware Blues from the day they set out for New York to serve under the general command of General Lord Stirling. In its wide sweep the narrative becomes virtually a military history of the American Revolution on such a scale that the Delawarians are sometimes altogether lost to sight. To those who are interested in military history with emphasis on the details and technique of battle, the niceties of strategy, the problems of supply and recruiting, this volume will have special appeal. References are relegated to the back of the book. The maps on the inside covers are extremely helpful. Twenty-two appendices add information that could not readily be incorporated into the text. In one of these the author takes sharp issue with and roundly refutes the recent contentions of Mr. Knollenberg and Dr. Samuel Patterson in regard to the record and merits of General Gates. (CHARLES H. METZGER)

# PERIODICAL LITERATURE

## MISCELLANEOUS

Consultant Service of the Library of Congress. Walton C. John (*School Life*, Jan.).

The Ethical Interpretation of History. Robert E. Fitch (*Christendom*, Spring).

Clio and Her Cousins: Some Reflections upon the Place of History among the Social Sciences. William B. Munro (*Pacific Histor. Rev.*, Dec., 1941).

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The Depersonalization of the Concept of Sovereignty. Heinz H. F. Eulau (*Journal of Politics*, Feb.).

Democratic Leadership in Peace and War. Joseph Conrad Fehr (*Thought*, Mar.).

The Dehumanization of Man. Moorehouse F. X. Millar (*ibid.*).

La deformación de la humanidad en el siglo XIX. Honorio Delgado (*Revista de la Universidad Católica del Perú*, Dec.).

La función del estado según la doctrina de la iglesia. Victor Andrés Belaunde (*ibid.*).

The Age of Mabillon and Montfaucon. James Westfall Thompson (*American Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).

What is History? Richard L. Porter (*Histor. Bulletin*, Jan.).

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A Lesson from Thomas More. Frank Sullivan (*ibid.*).

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Ethical Themes in the Antioch Mosaics. Glanville Downey (*Church Hist.*, Dec.).

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St. Jane Frances de Chantal: A Tercentenary. R. H. J. Steuart, S. J. (*Tablet*, Dec. 13).

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Rome's Condemnation of Georgism. Frederick J. Zwierlein (*Social Justice*, Feb.).
Glimpsing the Post-War Period. Leslie M. Pape (*World Affairs*, Dec.).

EUROPEAN

Napoleon u. der polnische Aufstand im Jahre 1863. G. Roloff (*Historische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 164. Heft 1).
France From Inside. May 1940-August 1941. Peter Kline (*Month*, Nov.-Dec.).
A Grand Duchy under the German Heel. John Murray (*ibid.*).
"Black" Muenster. E. Codd (*ibid.*).
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The Disruption of European Unity. Henri Grégoire (*Belgium*, II, 21).
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The Roots of Modern German Thought. Franz Borkenau (*Tablet*, Jan. 10, 17, 24).
The Polish Political Parties. Jozef Winiewicz (*ibid.*).
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BRITISH EMPIRE

Some Aspects of the Career of Archbishop Pecham. Part I. David Knowles, O.S.B. (*English Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).
Jack Faukes, King's Messenger, and his Journey to Avignon in 1343. Mary C. Hill (*ibid.*).
The Clerical Organization of Parliament. A. F. Pollard (*ibid.*).
The Duke of Newcastle as Ecclesiastical Minister. Norman Sykes (*ibid.*).
Two Notes on the Norse Kingdoms in Northumbria. A. Campbell (*ibid.*).
Henry VI and the Library of All Souls College. R. Weiss (*ibid.*).
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Early Essex Clergy [cont.]. P. H. Reaney (*ibid.*).
Grace in Church History. II. [Anglican] Bishop of Gloucester (*Church Quart. Rev.*, Oct.-Dec.).
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The History of Poynings' Law, Part I, 1494-1615. R. Dudley Edwards and T. W. Moody (*ibid.*).
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Father Mathew: Apostle of Temperance. John G. O'Farrell Rowe (*Ave Maria*, Jan. 31).

AMERICAN

Washington and the Catholics. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J. (*Histor. Bulletin*, Mar.).
Baptism and Manumission of Negro Slaves in the Early Colonial Period. Brother Philip Neri, C.F.X. (*Records of the Amer. Catholic Histor. Society*, Sept.-Dec., 1940).
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Oldest Shrines to Saint Patrick. Thomas F. Meehan (*America*, Mar. 14).
Bishop Neumann: Apostle of Zeal. Theresa Seton (*Ave Maria*, Feb. 21).
The Church People in Colonial Pennsylvania. H. M. J. Klein (*Pennsylvania Hist.*, Jan.).
The Sect People in Colonial Pennsylvania. Raymond Albright (*ibid.*).
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Pioneer American Nuns. William A. L. Styles (*Ave Maria*, Feb.).
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A Great Administrator [Father Dyer]. (*Voice*, Feb.).
Source Materials of Florida History in the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University. Lawrence C. Wroth (*Florida Histor. Quarterly*, July, 1941).
St. Charles, City of Paradoxes. Floyd C. Shoemaker (*Missouri Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).
Some Aspects of Early Indian Fur Trade. Isabel S. Dolch (*ibid.*).
Rev. Simon Saenderl, C. Ss. R., Indian Missionary [concluded]. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M.Cap. (*Social Justice Rev.*, Mar.).
Social Effects of Change in Religious Outlook among Indian Villagers. R. M. Clark, P. R. Langar, and W. S. Taylor (*Sociological Rev.*, Jan.-Apr., 1941).
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Belgian Influence on the Development of the Church in the U. S. A. Mgr. de Strijcker (*Belgium*, II, 20, 1942).
Joseph René Vilatte (Part I). Joseph Marx and Benjamin J. Blied (*Salesianum*, Jan.).

John Hagan, Eminent European Astronomer Sojourns in Wisconsin. W. B. Flaherty (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, Dec., 1941).

L'église de l'Orégon, fondation Canadienne. Léon Pouliot, S.J. (*Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Jan.).

The Catholic Church at Central City. Elizabeth A. Sweeney (*Colorado Mag.*, Sept.).

The United States and Japan, 1854-1941. Charles Callan Tansill (*Thought*, Mar.).

The Excavation of Fort Ste. Marie. K. E. Kidd (*Canadian Histor. Rev.*, Dec. 1941).

Les études sociales de Léon Gérin. C.-J. Magnan (*Le Canada Français*, Feb.).

Bringing the Monroe Doctrine up to Date. Dexter Perkins (*Foreign Affairs*, Jan.).

Un precursor de la coronación de la Virgen Santa María de Guadalupe. Jesús García Gutiérrez (*La Voz Guadalupana*, July).

Origen de la milagrosa cruz de piedra que se venera en el templo del Colegio de Propaganda Fide, de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro. José Rodriquez Familiar (*ibid.*).

El padre Eusebio "Kino". Jesús Galindo y Villa (*ibid.*).

La catedral de Puebla. Federico Mariscal (*ibid.*, Aug.).

Los macehuales. J. Ramírez Cabañas (*Filosofía y Letras*).

Breves notas acerca de Fray Toribio de Benavente o Motolinía. Agustín Millares Carlo (*Filosofía y Letras*, Oct.-Dec.).

Spain's Role in South America. John E. Kelly (*Cath. World*, Mar.).

Background of Cleveland's Venezuelan Policy. Nelson M. Blake (*Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Jan.).

Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil. Jerome V. Jacobsen (*Mid-America*, Jan.).

Gouveia: Jesuit Lawgiver in Brazil. J. Manuel Espinosa (*ibid.*).

## BOOKS RECEIVED

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Anderson, Nels, *Desert Saints. The Mormon Frontier in Utah.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1942. Pp. xx, 459. $4.00.)

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Beuf, Carlo, *Cesare Borgia, The Machiavellian Prince.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. ix, 398. $3.50.)

Bogart, Ernest Ludlow, *Economic History of Europe, 1760-1939.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. xiii, 734. $4.50.)

Bragg, Jefferson Davis, *Louisiana in the Confederacy.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1941. Pp. ix, 341. $3.00.)

Buck, Philip W., *The Politics of Mercantilism.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1942. Pp. viii, 240. $2.00.)

Burton, Katherine, *In No Strange Land.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1942. Pp. xix, 254. $2.50.)

*Catholic Directory, 1942* [for Great Britain]. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. vii, 275, 724. 7/6.)

*Catholic Who's Who, 1942.* Supplement to the 1941 Edition. (London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd. 1941. Pp. vii, 88. 2/6.)

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Clements, Robert J., *Critical Theory and Practice of the Pleiads.* Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, Vol. XVIII. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1942. Pp. xviii, 288. $3.00.)

Day, Clive, *Economic Development in Europe.* 2nd Ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1942. Pp. xxii, 746. $4.00.) Almost double the size of the previous edition (1933), this textbook begins with six new chapters on

economic history from the Domesday Book to 1700, adds treatments of Italy, Spain, and Ireland, and brings the whole down to the eve of the second World War. Economics are presented in relation with political and social history. Questions and readings follow each chapter, and there are thirty pages of bibliography at the end of the volume.

Easum, Chester V., *Prince Henry of Prussia: Brother of Frederick the Great.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1942. Pp. 403. $5.00.)

Espinosa, J. Manuel, *Crusaders of the Río Grande.* (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1942. Pp. xx, 410. $4.00.)

Gaffney, Mark Aloysius, *The Psychology of the Interior Senses.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1942. Pp. 260. $2.00.)

Gipson, Richard McCandless, *The Life of Emma Thursby.* (New York: New-York Historical Society. 1940. Pp. xxii, 470. $7.50.) A sumptuously printed and illustrated life of this New York singer based on personal archives.

"G. S.", *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted.* Introduction by William R. Parker. Publication No. 54 of the Facsimile Text Society. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1942. Pp. xxi, 223. $2.20.)

Hockett, Homer Carey, *Political and Social Growth of the American People, 1492-1865.* 3rd Ed. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1941. Pp. xxi, 861. $3.25.) This third edition of Profesor Hockett's well-known text represents a few transfers in content between this and the companion volume by Schlesinger, which covers the years since 1865. It maintains its attractive features with a forty-page bibliography besides suggested readings at the end of each chapter. The map of the United States in 1829 is, unfortunately, printed upside down (p. 530). Readers of this REVIEW will look in vain for adequate mention of the Church. The author confines himself to the negative aspects of anti-Catholicism for the most part, mentioning only in passing the Church's growth (p. 673) and in his discussion of the churches in the second quarter of the century (pp. 607-609) the Catholic Church does not even receive a mention. Cf., Schlesinger.

Hoffman, Ross J. S., *The Great Republic.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1942. Pp. xv, 167. $2.25.)

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Lane, J. F. and Mary Edna Lane, *Some Things We Saw While Abroad. A Visit to Europe, The Holy Land and Egypt.* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House. 1941. Pp. xv, 224. $2.00.)

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Morison, Samuel Eliot, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea.* 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1942. Pp. xlv, 448; vi, 445. $10.00.)

Nichols, Jeannette P. and Roy F., *The Republic of the United States.* Vol. I, *1493-1865.* Century Historical Series, ed. by William E. Lingelbach. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1942. Pp. xvii, 638. $3.50.) An attractive and very full textbook in good format, with numerous maps and illustrations, and abundant bibliography; previously published in part, as *The Growth of American Democracy;* intended for use as a college textbook.

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